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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW



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OCTOBER, 1958

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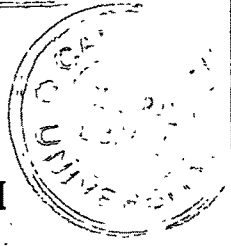
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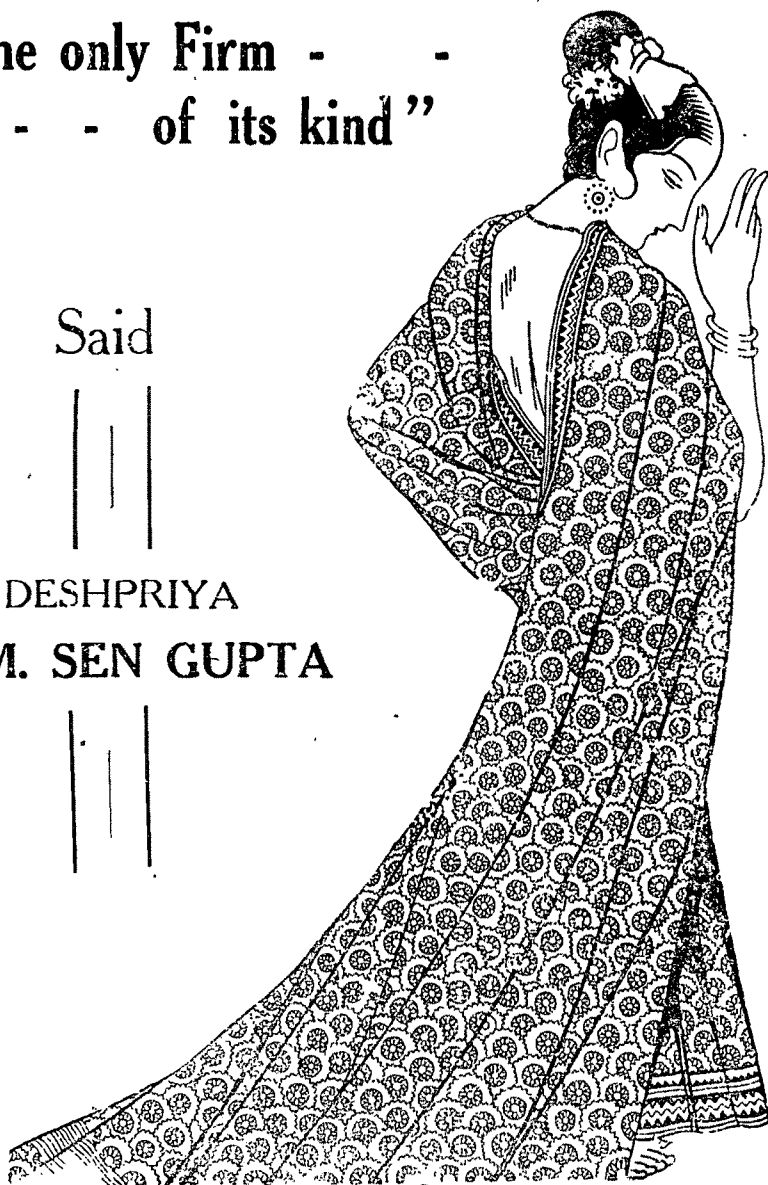
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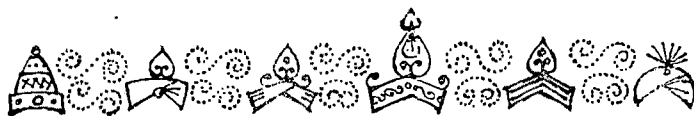
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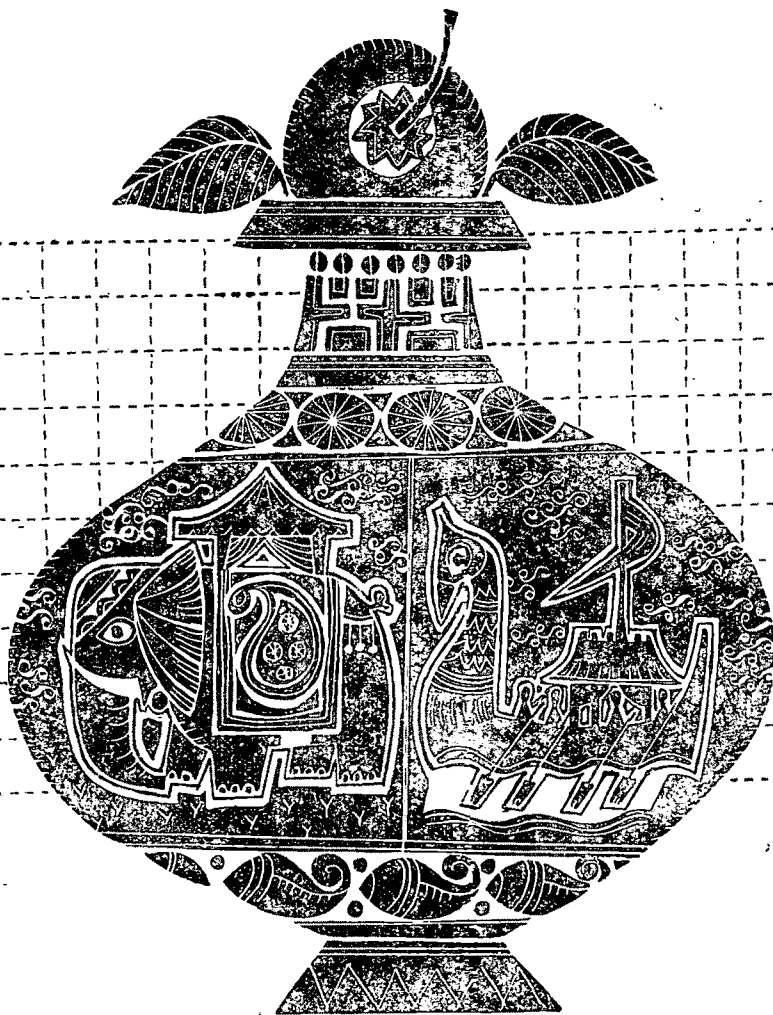
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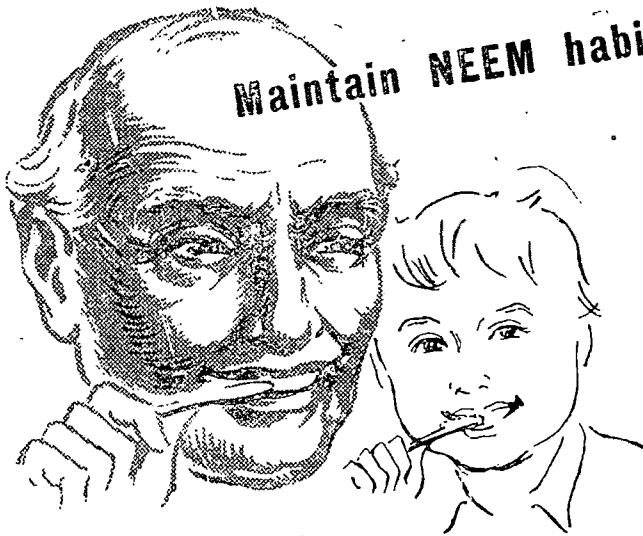
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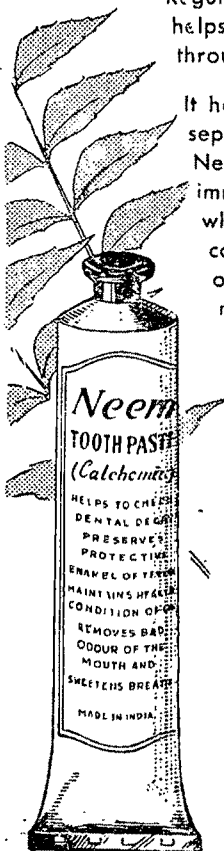
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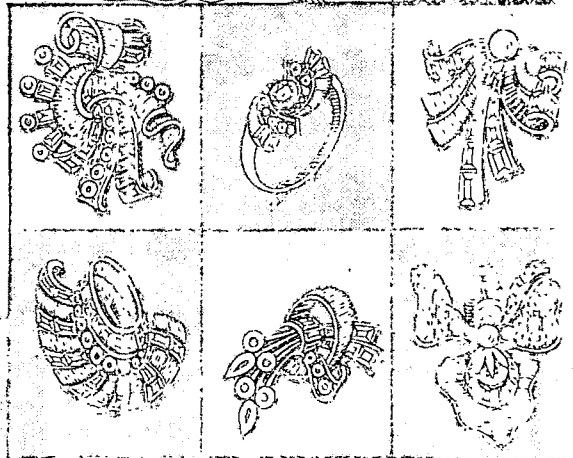
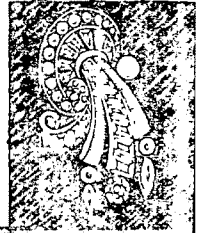
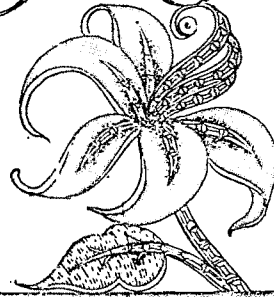
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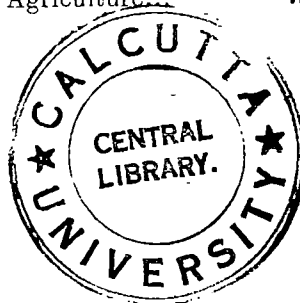
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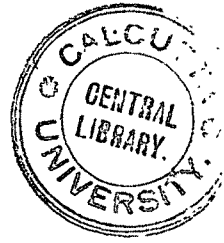
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

Vol. 149]

OCTOBER, 1958

[No. 1

EJNER TRELLUND

OLE VINDING *

One winter's day there was a ring at my door. I opened it, and there—just as if he had stepped out of the picture-book—stood Robinson Crusoe! He had a high, pointed fur cap, a shapeless jerkin hung with various paraphernalia, and a peculiarly gnarled countenance, used to the vicissitudes of life—the severest of them, too—but indomitable.

This Robinson was Ejner Trellund. He stamped his feet and shook the snow off his jerkin before coming in. He had come on a sudden impulse, and he went straight to the point. It was about philosophy and art, and he handled the two themes with a remarkable detachment, disclosing his store of self-taught wisdom with just sufficient irony to reveal its true worth.

Right to the end, the spontaneity of his visit never wore off, and whenever he called again it was just in the same way. Suddenly, there he was, plunging straight into the heart of the matter, without a thought for anything else, and then disappearing, often for long intervals at a time.

For fifteen years I have known this Robinson of the streets of Copenhagen, his profound reticence and his highly individual attitude towards life. I have sensed his deep resignation, and in the course of time I have come to identify it with the Sage's abjuration of the pomps and vanities of this world. Time has confirmed my impression

257588

* Danish author, critic and journalist (See "The Author's and Writer's Who's Who.")

of Trellund's triumph over his surroundings and circumstances. He creates in his own image; he has something to give to his fellow-creatures, even though his messages are sometimes imperfectly expressed. There are but few people who are such distinctive characters as he is.

I have never been quite sure whether Trellund was an artist, in the usual sense of the term, or not. On the other hand, I have always connected him with the unknown masters of Early European and primitive folk art.

Professor P. V. Glob once told me about a similar type of man up in the North of Jutland, who got the idea of making a font out of an old tar barrel, and transformed that useless cylinder into such a masterpiece of sculpture that connoisseurs mistook it for Early Roman.

Standing in front of the wonderful church of Saint Trophime at Arles, my mind went back to this North Jutlander and to Trellund. It seems as though people like them have a direct affinity for ornament and style—an affinity which ordinary artists lose, either through their contact with one another or with the public, or during some transitional stage of their training.

The North Jutlander and Trellund express themselves spontaneously; so did the sculptors of Saint Trophime. The interesting thing is that the centuries which separate them seem to mean nothing at all, as though the spontaneous artistic expression of their message to Mankind were timeless.

The figures which are going to stare at the reader in a moment, with their strange, outlandish features, would appear to have come from another world, had they not all of them a still, sad, human look. They have come into existence during the space of twenty years. It has been slow work, when you consider that Trellund has carved only fifty figures altogether. He does not want to carve any more of them. That stage, like other stages of his life, has been left behind; and he never turns back, although it might be to his advantage to do so, now and then. He knows nothing about advantage. This cutting off or chopping up life into little bits which he calls "stages left behind", is regarded by worthy citizens (who are jeopardizing their own lives with their stability) as deplorable instability.

But Trellund is more stable and less to be deplored than most—and richer too. Such, in brief, is my impression of a man whose

antecedents go back to that excellent sculptor, calligrapher and schoolmaster, Peder Trellund of Ribe, who made an altar-piece for Frederik II in 1586 (now to be seen in Denmark's National Museum).

The masters of Saint Trophime, the imaginative and neat-handed messengers of the medicine-men and the Shamans—these were all reckoned as Trellunds in their time. They were not sized up according to the canons of taste belonging to modern "opening days" or museums, but simply according to whether they succeeded in expressing what they were supposed to. Taste is irrelevant in this connexion and makes its appearance only when time has shown the value of the spontaneous work. All this kind of art may be associated with children's art, for that too depends on the intensity of the message, not knowing what is beautiful or ugly but only what serves its purposes.

Johannes V. Jensen, referring also to Trellund (whom he knew personally), used to talk about "the art of caprice, the art of the mood, subjected to the power inherent in the materials, the forms and the colours, to awaken the inner vision and the visionary's urge to reveal it to everybody".

Sometimes we see landscapes and figures in a mosaic floor, in cloud-formations, and in patches of damp on ceilings and walls; they appear so clearly that we think a few strokes would suffice to fix the impression. Trellund chose roots and branches of trees. This meant that most of his productions had to be men with gnarled and twisted features; they usually had to have tiaras on their heads, because of the cylindrical form of the branch above. The hard, masculine nature of his medium made few exceptions possible, and threatened his work with monotony; yet he more often than not managed to achieve variety in the faces. The titles of his works, however, do not lend themselves to variation; in most cases they are misleading, and necessarily so, since the spontaneous creation of form according to an inner vision conditioned by the very nature of the medium precludes any irrelevant postulate about its meaning: such a postulate is possible only when the material is made to conform to a preconceived idea. In this way, "unconscious" work is not so free as "conscious" work.

The chief thing, however, is Trellund's visionary power—his genius for capturing the fleeting vision and holding it so tightly that we can all see it as something concrete and clear.

None of his works are pretty or tasteful. Aesthetes will probably lump them together with the heads that peasants used to carve on

their pipes, and other curiosities; yet in so doing—though they certainly do not realize it—they testify to Trellund's greatest quality, as a man and as an artist: his spontaneity. This alone can protect Man's personal message from Time's fell hand, and raise Trellund's ideas above the overbearance of the aesthetes.

poppel	bøg	røn	birk	elm	ahorn	eg	blomme
poplar	beech	mountain ash	birch	elm	maple	oak	plum tree
		hylde	tjørn	sandsien			
		elderberry	hawthorn	sandstone			

THE WEST BENGAL PANCHAYAT ACT, 1956—AN ANALYTICAL STUDY

SUBIMALKUMAR MUKHERJEE,
Calcutta University

I

Real India is still to be found in the villages. Hence one, not unoften, comes across the cry here 'back to villages'. But villages with the virus of ignorance and disease cannot attract men from outside. The dying villages must be brought back to life. For that new blood must be infused in them through the panchayats. Revival of the panchayats is, however, more than a passive return to the rural life; it is an attempt at a creative adaptation of our traditional institutions to the needs of modern democracy and industrialism. Herein lies the significance of the post-independence emphasis on the panchayat system in India and the whole issue should be read in that light.

Panchayats are rooted in India and her traditions. One can find traces of them in the vedic age.¹ In the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Manusmriti 'Janapadas' and 'Gram Sanghas' can be seen. "Gram Sabhas are mentioned in the Buddhist Jatakas." The Arthashastra, the Sukranitisara contain references to rural communities. The Shrutis, the Smritis, the Dharmasutras refer to them in different names. In fact, these panchayats or rural communities went on growing and developing through centuries. But they received the first set-back with the advent and consolidation of the British rule in India.

The key to British rule was centralized administration. And that meant, the gradual burial of the panchayat system with its autonomy at the bottom. The process of devitalization of the panchayat system was further hastened by the growth of communications, modern western education, the introduction of the British judicial system of courts and the loss of the self-sufficient character of the villages.

But towards the end of the 19th century the British rules felt the need of introducing rural self-government in India. Lord Ripon was, in a sense, the pioneer in the field. Urban self-government in the shape of corporation or municipalities was already there. Corporations

¹ "The word *gramini* is referred to in the vedas. It means the leader of the village". The Panchayats, Publications Division, Government of India, p. 4.

in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were already established. Municipal institutions began with the Bengal Act of 1842. Lord Ripon's Resolution of 1882 gave a stimulus to the idea of rural self-government. Legislation was passed to establish rural boards. The Royal commission on Decentralization set up in 1907 recommended that "an attempt should be made to constitute and develop village panchayats for the administration of local affairs." The Mont-Ford Report lent emphasis to the question by arguing that "responsible institutions will not be stably rooted until they are broadbased." The Government of India Resolution of 1918 also spoke in the same vein. In it the Government of India looked upon the village panchayats "not as mere mechanical adjuncts, but as associations designed to develop village corporate life on the basis of the intimacy existing between the inhabitants who had not only common civic interests but were also kept together by ties of tradition and of blood." With the introduction of Diarchy in 1919 and the transfer of Local self-Government to the Ministers under the same, most of the provinces passed the Panchayat and Village Self-Government Acts. But there was no systematic progress. "With the introduction of the Government of India Act of 1955, comprehensive Village Panchayat Acts were passed in several provinces." Still the Panchayat system could not regain that original vitality.

When, however, Congress came to office in 1946, new measures were enacted to reorganize the existing Panchayats. And with independence the whole thing received a new stimulus. Gandhiji's dream of building democracy at and from the bottom was sought to be fulfilled. But the Draft Constitution of independent India framed by the Drafting Committee, of which Dr. Ambedkar was the chairman, contained nothing about village panchayats. In the Constituent Assembly Dr. Ambedkar, in justifying this deliberate omission, condemned these villages in very strong terms. He said—"That they have survived through vicissitudes may be a fact. But mere survival has no value. The question is on what plane they have survived. Surely on a low selfish level. I hold that these village republics have been the ruination of India. I am, therefore, surprised that those who condemn provincialism and communalism should come forward as champions of the village. What is the village but a stink of localism and a den of ignorance, narrowmindedness and communalism? I am glad that the Draft Constitution has discarded the village and adopted the individual as its unit." Perhaps Dr. Ambedkar, though correct to some extent, carried things to an excess and his statement raised a storm of protest and reaction in different quarters. All felt that Dr. Ambedkar did not attach proper value and significance to the role the villages played in the

past and are expected to play in the future. The Constituent Assembly then started the discussion of the Directive Principles during the course of which an amendment was moved for inserting a provision regarding panchayats. Dr. Ambedkar accepted the amendment. And it is finally enacted as a Directive Principle of our constitution that : " The State Governments shall take steps to organize village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government." (Art. 40 of the Constitution of India.) The Panchayat Acts in the States of India passed after the coming into force of the new constitution are largely in implementation of this Article.

Since independence there has thus been a renewed emphasis on the revival of the Panchayats. Different states have enacted the necessary and relevant laws and now there is Panchayat legislation in all the states of India, except Manipur and Tripura.

The United Provinces in India has been the home of experiment with the panchayat system in recent years. During the British rule there was the U.P. Village Panchayat Act of 1920 : but the Act was largely a failure. But the most comprehensive legislation came in 1947 with the U.P. Panchayat Raj Act of 1947. This Act has been a great success, though it has been amended in 1950, 1952, 1954 and 1955. In Punjab also we come across Panchayat legislation. There was in the pre-independence days the Punjab Panchayat Act, 1912; and then were issued the Punjab Village Panchayat Rules, 1939. After independence and partition came the Punjab Gram Panchayat Act, 1952. In Punjab out of the total number of 16,455 villages, 16,000 villages have been covered by Panchayats up to March, 1954 and the number of Panchayats established up to that period was 9180, though that was the target to be reached by March, 1956.¹ For Madhya Pradesh we see the Central Provinces and Berar Panchayats Act, 1946, amended in 1947, 1948 and 1949. Thereafter were passed the Madhya Pradesh Panchayat Amendment Acts of 1950, 1951 and 1953. In Madhya Pradesh the number of panchayats established up to March, 1954 was 6866; the target number to be reached by March, 1956 was 10,500. In Madras there was the Madras Village Courts Act, 1888. Then in 1950 after independence was enacted the Madras Village Panchayats Act, 1950, which was amended twice in 1951. In Madras the target number for March, 1956 was 6,000 Panchayats, of which 4,502 were established by March, 1954. The State of Andhra came into existence in 1953, after being separated from Madras. But there

¹ These data will be seen in the Booklet "*The Panchayats*"—Published by the Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Appendix B.

were already panchayats in the districts of Andhra under the Madras Village Panchayats Act, 1950; and the Panchayats in Andhra are governed by this Act, which has been amended twice by the Andhra State Assembly. Andhra up to March, 1954 established 3,750 Panchayats—that was the number to be established according to programme by March, 1956. Panchayats in Assam are constituted under the Assam Rural Panchayat Act, 1948, which was amended in 1952. Bombay had its village Panchayat Act in 1933. This was amended in 1947 and thoroughly changed in 1953. This was called Bombay District Municipal Village Panchayat (Amendment) Act, 1953. Bombay up to December, 1953, had 5,804 Panchayats and the number to be established by March, 1956 was 9,860. In Bihar there was originally the Bihar and Orissa Local self-Government Act of 1885. But later on Bihar Assembly passed the Bihar Panchayat Act in 1947 upon which at present the Panchayat system of Bihar stands. Panchayats in Bihar were 4,387 in number up to March, 1954; the number to be established by March, 1956 was 8,000. In the Uttar Pradesh all the villages have been covered by Panchayats. The total number of villages there is 1,24,323 and for them there are 36,139 Panchayats. The Panchayat system there is largely successful. No wonder then that it would act as a model and example for other states to emulate.

Panchayats in this way are being completely reorganized in India. The Planning Commission of the First Five Year Plan (1952-57) laid emphasis on the panchayats. The commission observed—"Taking a general view, it may be said that Panchayat legislation in India is marked by considerable boldness of thought and an earnest desire to make the village panchayat a vital base in national structure. The legislation seeks to translate into action the directive principle in the constitution that the states should take steps to organise village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as might be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government. In the practical implementation of this principle some states have made considerable progress, but in the country as a whole much remains to be done. *We suggest that each state should have a programme for establishing over a period of years panchayats for villages or groups of villages.*"¹ Perhaps pursuant to this suggestion and the desire to implement the relevant directive principle of the constitution, the different states in India have established Panchayats. The total number of villages in India is about 5,73,986. Of these the villages

¹ *The First Five year Plan*, p. 133 (Italics mine).

covered by Panchayats up to March, 1954 are about 2,89,705 in number. The number of Panchayats established in India up to March, 1954 is 98,342. Hence on an average the number of villages under one panchayat is in the neighbourhood of 3. And the number of panchayats scheduled to be established by March, 1956 was fixed at 1,17,762.¹ This is the position for the whole of India: that in some of the important states like Bombay, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, etc. has also been seen. But the story about West Bengal is not encouraging. The total number of villages in West Bengal is 35,608. Villages covered by panchayats up to March, 1954 were only 650 and that also by executive order as there was no Panchayat legislation. The number of panchayats established in West Bengal up to March, 1954 under executive order was 273 and the target number to be established by March, 1956 was 500. This compares rather very unfavourably with the position in other states in India.

In the Second Five Year Plan (1957-61) we find renewed emphasis on the panchayats. According to the Planning Commission the village panchayats can act as instruments for evolving an integrated social structure in the rural areas. What the Commission says in this connection is worth noting. The Commission observes—"The development of village panchayats on the right lines has significance for several reasons. Under the impact of new developments, including the growth of population, land reform, urbanisation, spread of education, increase in production and improvements in communications, village society is in a state of rapid transition. In emphasising the interest of the community as a whole and in particular the needs of those sections which are at present handicapped in various ways, village panchayats along with co-operatives, can play a *considerable part in bringing about a more just and integrated social structure in rural areas and in developing a new pattern of rural leadership.*"² The panchayats then in the new set-up can play and are expected to play a magnificently creative role. They would be weapons for developing a new pattern or rural leadership and for rebuilding a more equitable and better integrated social structure. Panchayats, if revived along proper lines, would thus contain immense creative potentialities—that is the claim of the Planning Commission which formulated the Second Five Year Plan for free India. And accordingly the Commission offers a plan for the revitalization of the panchayat system in the Second Five Year Plan

¹ These data are from the Booklet "The Panchayats"—Published by the Publication Division, Government of India. Appendix B. Information as to whether the target fixed for March 1956 has been reached is not yet available.

² *The Second Five year Plan*, p. 151. (Italics mine)

period. The Commission adds—“ *It is the general aim to establish a statutory panchayat in every village, especially in areas selected for national extension and community development projects.* During the first Five Year Plan the number of village panchayats has increased from 83,087 to 1,17,593. *According to the tentative programmes drawn up for the Second Five Year Plan, by 1960-61 the number of village panchayats will increase to 2,44,564.* All over India there is need to review village boundaries so that there might be evolved good, efficient working village units with live panchayats. Thus there are over 3,80,020 villages in India with populations of 500 and below. More than 78 million people or 27 per cent. of the rural population live in such villages. There are 1,04,268 villages with a population between 500 and 1000. About 73 million people live in these villages, constituting over 25 per cent. of the rural population. More than half the rural population thus lives in villages with population below 1,000. A proportion of such villages is in hilly areas which are sparsely populated, and in these grouping may be difficult. *In other areas the question of combining existing villages into units with a population of about 1,000 deserves to be examined. It is necessary to have villages which are small enough to have a sense of solidarity and yet not so small that personnel cannot be provided or the essential services organised for their benefit.* The second conference of Local self-Government Ministers held in 1954 recommended that where individual villages are not large enough to serve as units for panchayats, a single panchayat may serve a population of 1,000 to 1,500. This is useful up to a point, but *the real problem concerns the organisation of convenient village units.*”¹ From these passages the nature and extent of emphasis laid on the panchayats in the second five year plan will be seen. The emphasis is along three lines, I believe. In the first place there is to be a statutory panchayat in every village specially in areas selected for national extension service and community development projects. Secondly, at the end of the second five year plan period, i.e., by 1960-61 the number of village panchayats will increase from 1,17,593 (in the first five year plan period) to 2,44,564. In the third place, there should be some arrangement for the evolution and establishment of convenient village units of optimum size, small enough to have the necessary sense of intimacy and solidarity and large enough to supply sufficient personnel for the efficient organization and administration of the welfare services. In addition to this emphasis along these three lines, the planning Commission in the second five year

¹ *The Second Five year Plan*, pp. 151-52 (Italics mine)

plan confers on the village panchayats a very important role in relation to development in the villages, *viz.*, framing programmes of production in the village: in association of co-operatives, framing budgets of requirements for supplies and finance for carrying out programmes: acting as a channel through which increasing proportion of government assistance reaches the village, etc.¹ The Planning Commission again in reorganizing the panchayats has some suggestions to make in connection with the composition of the panchayats. Election, it was recognized in the first five year plan, might not get for the panchayats a sufficient number of men of necessary qualities, *e.g.*, good farmers, social workers, etc., nor could it ensure the adequate representation of the weaker sections in the panchayat. In the first five year plan nomination of a few was suggested to remove these defects. But nomination has vices of its own. Hence in the second five year plan it is suggested that—"To meet deficiencies, it may be desirable to empower village panchayats to co-opt a limited number of persons, say two or three, in the case of smaller panchayats and up to, say, one-fifth in the case of the larger panchayats."² And a representative of the principal co-operative society could also be an *ex-officio* member of the village panchayat. In the second five year plan then the panchayats are expected to play a pivotal role in the reorganization of our national life at the bottom both in the economic and administrative fields. It is in this background that the West Bengal Panchayat Act, 1956, is to be read and analysed.

West Bengal following other sister states and the emphasis placed on the panchayats in the plans has enacted the Panchayat legislation. It is the West Bengal Panchayat Act, 1955 but known also as the West Bengal Act I of 1957 as it received the President's assent on 24 January, 1957.

Initially it should be pointed out that with the coming into force of this Act, the whole of the Bengal village Self-Government Act, 1919 shall be repealed.³ It was under this latter Act that the Union Boards in Bengal were organized and were functioning. The repeal of that Act will mean the replacement of the Union Board system by the Panchayat system.

The Act has 120 Sections divided into XIII Chapters and 3 Schedules. It is based on the model of panchayat legislation existing in different states of India but with minor variations here and there.

¹ *The Second Five year Plan*, pp. 152-53

² *The Second Five year Plan*, p. 154.

³ *Schedule I of the Act*, p. 58.

The West Bengal Panchayat Act is to extend to the whole of West Bengal except the areas where there are towns or municipalities under different Acts [sec. 1 (2)]. The entire rural area of West Bengal is then to be covered by panchayats under this Act. Sub-section (2) of Section 1 of the United Provinces Panchayat Raj Act, 1947, is also drafted in the same way. That Act extends to the whole of the United Provinces except the areas where municipal administration has been or may be set up.

When this Act comes into force in any area, the State Government may, by notification, constitute one or more gram sabhas within such area for the purposes of the Act [Sec. 3 (1)]. In this notification the name and local limits of the gram sabha or sabhas will be specified. But these local limits fixed for a gram sabha are not permanent, they can be changed or altered by the state Government [sec. 5]. The state Government may exclude from the local limits any area comprised therein but only after consulting the views of the gram sabha or sabhas. And after consulting likewise it may include within the local limits of the jurisdiction of a gram sabha any area in the vicinity thereof. There can thus be an extension of the area of a gram sabha but this added area must be contiguous to the original zone. Exclusion or inclusion of areas may create complications. Exclusion of an unproductive (from the local revenue yielding standpoint) area and tagging on the same to an adjoining unit may create handicap for the latter so long as it is not developed; and if the area be productive and profit-yielding it may mean an injury to the former. Adjustments through exclusion and inclusion would on occasions be necessary in the interest of creating optimum efficient units from the point of view of local administration or equalization of resources. Actually the planning commission in the Second Five Year Plan laid emphasis on that. But the process of adjustment must be slow and cautious otherwise it may create more problems than it solves. The State Government again may after consulting the views of the gram sabhas divide the area of any gram sabha so as to constitute two or more gram sabhas or unite the areas of two or more gram sabhas so as to constitute a single gram sabha and otherwise alter or revise the limits of any gram sabha. These provisions regarding exclusion, inclusion, division of area, amalgamation, alteration or revision of areas are healthy. They inject an element of flexibility in boundary adjustment according to the changing needs and circumstances. Without these provisions the areas become rather rigidly fixed and for alteration of the area perhaps new legislation would be required. But on account of these provisions the state government through its Local Self-Government Department may take prompt

action through executive orders. Such provisions are there in other Acts relating to local self-government. Another good feature is that these alterations may be made by the state government 'after consulting the views of the gram sabha or sabhas concerned.' Alteration of the area without taking into account the views of the parties to be affected thereby would be undemocratic and highhanded—it would be a kind of imposition from above making democracy at the village level a caricature of itself. The complications connected with the county-borough battle in England may not perhaps appear here with the same intensity. Yet if a gram sabha finds a rich portion of its territory taken away and tied to a growing town in the vicinity, it may have some legitimate ground for complaint. At least it should be given a hearing and an opportunity to place its own point of view. Otherwise a revision or alteration or adjustment imposed from above by wounding the sentiments of local autonomy may defeat the purpose of local democracy. Of course, if the gram sabhas concerned after consultation are found by the state government to be reluctant to have revision or alteration of areas but the state government is insistent on that, then complications may arise. The state government may impose its will; but without doing so it should be tactful and try to win the gram sabhas over to its point of view through a policy of persuasion. This provision for consultation with the gram sabhas concerned is not there in the U.P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947. There the Provincial Government may at any time by notification in the official gazette, either on its own motion or of a Gaon Sabha or of the residents of any village, include any area in or exclude any area from the area of a Gaon Sabha [Sec. 3 (2)]. It will be seen that the state government there 'on its own motion' may make the changes in some cases and is not required to consult the Gaon Sabha, as in the West Bengal Act. But the U.P. Act has one important feature. The Provincial Government may make the changes 'on the motion of a Gaon Sabha or of the residents of any village'. This initiative on the part of the Gaon Sabha or of the residents of the village concerned we miss in the West Bengal Act. Here normally the initiative is, under this section, with the state government which before it takes action is expected to consult the Gram Sabhas concerned. This provision for consultation is a concession to local autonomy. Alteration of area, exclusion and inclusion are major changes which may affect vitally the interests of the local units concerned. And such a major change without consulting the parties likely to be affected would perhaps be arrogantly undemocratic. Hence this provision in the West Bengal Act for consultation with the units concerned has much in it to commend itself. But the final authority

belongs to the state government. That is not a bad norm. The units likely to be adversely affected may not agree to alteration or adjustment (there will not be many cases of adjustment which will benefit both the parties). They may be guided by unhealthy rivalry, jealousy, aggressive selfishness—and consultation with them by the state government may reveal these noxious elements. In such cases the state government should first of all follow a policy of persuasion and if this policy fails may take its stand on superior rights. This provision for reserving final powers to the state government is sound as the state government in the matter of adjustment of areas may take an impartial dispassionate view, whereas the units concerned may be influenced by passions, prejudice, jealousy and narrowness. Too small an area may be uneconomic; too big an area may be undesirable. Through necessary alterations and adjustments the optimum size may be reached.

Every gram sabha shall consist of all persons whose names are included in the electoral roll of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly for the time being in force pertaining to the area [Sec. 7 (1)]. In Assembly election the principle of adult suffrage is followed. Hence we see herein that all adults of that area would be members of gram sabhas. As this Act has been passed after the preparation of the electoral roll for the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, this drafting has been found to be convenient. In the United Provinces Panchayat Raj Act, 1947, there is the introduction of the same thing through a different drafting perhaps because the electoral roll for the general elections in free India was not yet then prepared. Under that Act “ a Gaon Sabha shall consist of all adults permanently residing within the area for which the sabha is established . . . ” [Sec. 5 of the U.P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947]. By an amendment to the U.P. Act in 1954 necessary changes were made to bring the matter in line with the provisions of the Representation of the People's Act. These members are to elect the Panchayats and hence it can be argued that the election to the Panchayats stands on the principle of adult suffrage.

The Gram Sabha will be the deliberative and the policy framing body for the area in question and the Panchayat elected by the members of the gram sabha would perhaps be the executive for the implementation of that policy. That will be seen from the nature of the functions to be discharged by the gram sabha in its meetings. Every gram sabha “ shall hold ” one general annual meeting and one half-yearly general meeting. Be it noted that the term is “ shall hold ”—it is then a statutory obligation for the gram sabha to hold these two meetings. In addition to these there can be extraordinary general meetings that the Adhyaksha of the gram panchayat “ may ” convene

perhaps on his own initiative or discretion. But such extraordinary general meetings "shall" be convened by him if a requisition in writing to that effect is made by not less than one-fifth of the total number of members of the gram sabha and he is to convene that meeting within twenty-one days from the receipt of such requisition [Sec. 8]. If then the requisition is made by one-fifth of the members, it is the statutory duty of the Adhyaksha to convene the meeting within 21 days. The requisition shall state the objects of the meeting and shall be signed by the members requisitioning. This is a necessary provision to check frequent and arbitrary requisition on flimsy grounds. If, however, the Adhyaksha fails to convene the meeting within the twenty-one days, the members requisitioning may make a written request to the prescribed authority within ten days from the date of expiry of the twenty-one days period and the prescribed authority "shall convene the meeting within twenty-one days from the date of receipt of the written request." This stipulation may on occasions be very necessary. In case of difference of opinion on, say, party grounds between the Adhyaksha and the members requisitioning regarding the necessity of the requisitioned meeting, the Adhyaksha might undo the whole move of the requisitioning members, had he been the final authority in the matter. Through inertia or deliberate delay he might go on postponing the meeting, though he might be guilty of a breach of his statutory obligation as the drafting in the case of requisition is that he "shall convene." If at all such a situation emerges, the whole thing can be corrected by making a written request to the prescribed authority.

Normally then the gram sabha shall have two general meetings in a year—one annual and the other half-yearly. The most important meeting is the annual general meeting. At this meeting the gram sabha shall (1) consider the budget for the following year, (2) consider the report submitted by the Gram Panchayat on the work done during the previous year and the work proposed to be done during the following year, and give such directions to the Gram Panchayat as it may deem necessary, and (3) transact such other business as may be prescribed [Sec. 9 (1) (a)]. This gives us an idea of the business to be transacted at the annual general meeting of the Gram Sabha. In considering the report submitted by the Gram Panchayat on the work done during the previous year, the Gram Sabha may criticise and comment upon the activities of the Panchayat. Deficiencies and gaps in the work of the Panchayat may be pointed out and detected so that these things may not be repeated again. If the members of the Gram Sabha are alert, vigilant and conscious, they can by this process keep the Panchayats

within reach and may through criticism compel them to be more active and vigorous in future. The work proposed to be done in the following year is also to be considered and necessary directions to the Panchayat may be given. The Budget for the following year is also to be considered. The Gram Sabha being a large body cannot however fix in the annual general meeting the minute details but can surely determine in broad outline the policy which is to be followed by the panchayat in the following year. And in this meeting again every member of the Gram Sabha shall have the right of asking for information on all matters relating to the administration of the gram panchayat [Sec. 9 (2)]. It is evident herefrom that at the annual general meeting, which is the crucial one, there is an examination or scrutiny of the last year's work of the panchayat and a broad indication or formulation of the policy to be pursued in the next year. The annual general meeting of the gram sabha is then of vital significance. On the efficacy of this meeting would depend the promise that the panchayat would run along the proper healthy lines. A scrutiny of the previous year's work of the panchayat—a scheme for the next year's work—the issue of necessary directions to the panchayat for the implementation of that scheme—consideration of the budget for the following year—these are the obligatory duties of the gram sabha in the annual general meeting. In the half-yearly general meeting, the gram sabha shall transact such other business as may be prescribed. The quorum for “any meeting”¹ of the gram sabha will be one-tenth of the total number of members of the gram sabha; but for any meeting adjourned for want of quorum, no quorum shall be necessary, [Sec. 10 (1) and (2)].

Under the West Bengal Panchayat Bill every gram sabha was to be a ‘body corporate’ and so also the gram panchayat. The Select Committee to which the Bill was referred argued that for one and the same area two corporate bodies would not be necessary. Accordingly in the Act the provision regarding the corporate character of the gram sabha has been deleted, whereas that for the gram panchayat has been retained [Sec. 11 (4)].

Under the U.P. Panchayat Raj Act, 1947, however, every gaon sabha shall be a body corporate having perpetual succession and common seal etc., [Sec. 4]. There is no such provision in the case of the Gaon Panchayat. In the U.P. Act, moreover, the gram panchayats are specifically declared to be the ‘executive committees’ of the Gaon Sabhas. Section 12, Sub-section (1) prescribes—“As soon as may be

¹ The term “any meeting” would surely cover the annual general meeting, half-yearly general meeting and also the extraordinary general requisitioned meetings. The quorum under the U.P. Act is one-fifth.

after its (Gaon Sabha) establishment, every Gaon Sabha shall elect from among its members an Executive Committee called the Gaon Panchayat." Perhaps because of this stipulation in law the Gaon Sabha has been made a body corporate and not the Gaon Panchayat. In the West Bengal Act it is laid down—"There shall be a Gram Panchayat for every Gram Sabha "[Sec. 11 (1)]. Whatever may be the drafting, the Gram Panchayats in West Bengal also would in effect be the executive body and the Gram Sabhas the deliberative or policy framing body.

Under the U.P. Act also every Gaon Sabha "shall hold two general meetings in each year" [Sec. 11 (1)]—one the *kharif* meeting, and the other the *rabi* meeting. There may also be extraordinary general meetings either on the initiative of the Pradhan or upon a requisition in writing by the prescribed authority or by not less than one-fifth of the members. At the *Kharif* meeting the Gaon Sabha shall consider and pass the budget for the following year and at its *rabi* meeting it shall consider the accounts of the previous year [Sec. 13]. At both meetings again the Gaon Sabha shall consider the biennial reports of business submitted by the President. The functions of the Gaon Sabhas of the Uttar Pradesh in their general meetings are then more or less the same as those of the gram sabhas in West Bengal with however minor differences. There is no provision in the U.P. Act that the Gaon Sabha shall give such directions to the Panchayat as may be deemed necessary by it—a provision that is specifically mentioned in the West Bengal Act. Moreover, in the U.P. Act the Gaon Sabha at its *rabi* meeting "shall consider the accounts of the previous year." There is no such stipulation in the West Bengal Act, unless it is included in the category of "such other business" of Sec. 9 (1) (a) (iii).

The Gram Sabhas then are going to occupy a pivotal position in the panchayati set-up of India. They would be the examples of direct democracy operating at the village level. These Gram Sabhas are to be composed of all the adults residing in the area. And they are to discharge very important and responsible duties under the Act. And just because of this we may have some grounds for misgiving. Consideration of the budget, scrutiny of the accounts and work of the previous year, issuing necessary instructions to the Panchayat—all these require a fairly high level of intelligence, alertness, responsibility and knowledge. Can we be sure of these elements in our Gaon Sabha members? If not, the whole scheme may turn out to be a very risky and costly experiment. We would then be adding to the existing ills of our system the vices of ignorance, selfishness, narrowness, arrogance and unhealthy pressure politics. We would in that case be paying a

penalty for ignoring the dictum of John Stuart Mill that 'universal education should precede universal enfranchisement'. The literacy level of India is not high—rather it is much lower than that of the Western countries. A Gram Sabha consisting mostly of the illiterate adults of the village cannot be expected to be fully alive to its responsibilities. It may be guided by some group leaders—the ordinary members doing and dittoing simply what they are asked to do. In that case it is doubtful if the panchayats can play effectively the role of evolving an integrated social structure—the role expected of them by the Planning Commission in the second plan period.

That there may be a cause for such misgiving cannot be denied. But the U.P. experiment is encouraging and can justify a note of robust optimism. Panchayat elections there in 1955 (October-December) evoked much enthusiasm. In some cases of course 'membership of the panchayats went abegging' and by-elections had to be held. But on the whole the entire experiment was encouraging and heartening. Moreover, the adult mass of India in the rural areas, as also in the town, has sufficient political consciousness. That is due partly to our freedom struggle and partly to party infiltration in the rural regions. There may not be perfect success. But we must not forget that the method in democracy is always the method of trial and error. With a fairly high level of political consciousness and sound common sense the adult villagers, though not knowing always the three R's, can gradually learn the art of self-rule and can live up to the responsibilities reposed in them as members of the Gram Sabha.

In West Bengal the prospects of success of the panchayat scheme are no less bright. Here the people in the towns and the villages are directly feeling even now the impact of partition. They have sufficiently reasonable political sense. Of course excesses and perversions under party or group pressure may always be here, as they may be elsewhere. But that can be no ground for abandoning the scheme. With a people having an attitude of tolerance, a sound political sense and faith, village democracy in the shape of gram sabha will be an experiment worth trying in West Bengal. Experiences with the Union Boards and lessons therefrom may be of some, if not always of much, help in the new experiment. These village panchayats would largely be akin to the parish Councils of England and the Gram Sabha meetings may find a parallel, though in a limited sense, in the parish meetings. For all parishes in England with a population of three hundred or more there must be a parish council in all cases. For parishes with a population of two hundred or more inhabitants but less than three hundred, the County Council must establish a parish council if the parish meeting

so resolves. In other cases the County Council *may* establish a parish Council if the parish meeting so resolves. For smaller parishes where there are no parish Councils there are parish meetings. Parish meetings and parish councils then may be regarded as two different categories of local bodies in England specially when we see that there may be some small parishes where there are parish meetings only but no parish council. But where there are parish councils, parish meetings are not excluded. "The existence of a parish council does not operate to destroy the parish meeting; in fact, in most parishes the parish council is elected by the parish meeting, and in some cases the parish council cannot spend money without the consent of the parish meeting."¹ Hence our panchayat system with gram sabha meetings may be likened in some sense to the administration system of the rural parishes in England. And the adults in the rural regions in India are more alert and vigorous than those in the English parishes. Our freedom fight for decades and our hard-earned independence after centuries of serfdom have taught us the value and significance of democracy and self-rule. That is perhaps why in India we take democratic elections at all levels more seriously than our counterparts in England. Regarding English local government it is laid down— "The main difficulty in local elections is to persuade people to vote. Even in the boroughs, which have a distinct civic life and consciousness, a poll of forty per cent. is regarded as satisfactory, and polls of twenty-five per cent. are quite common. In county and district elections there are often no contests owing to the absence of competition for seats; and where there are contests the proportion of votes is often very low."² Occasionally in India such lack of enthusiasm may be evidenced but generally we see that the story here is not so depressing. Rather there were occasions of even violence and clash between different groups during panchayat elections in the U.P. Hence in India in spite of the low level of literacy it would not be fair and reasonable to conclude that the panchayat system will fail to fulfil the mission with which they have been established. They contain immense possibilities and rightly guided and worked they may inaugurate a new era in the experiment and success of local and village democracy.

(To be continued)

¹ Jennings—*Principles of Local Government Law* (Third Edn.) 1947, pp. 84-5.

² Jennings—*op. cit.*, p. 112.

THE DIARY OF SANJIV CHANDRA

DR. MATILAL DAS, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

Sanjiv Chandra Chatterjee, brother of the famous Bankim Chandra was a well-known literary man in his days. The famous periodical *Banga Darsan* brought a new era in Bengali Literature. He assisted his brother in publication of this noted Journal and later on he became its editor. He was a man of fine taste and had fine conversational powers, so that he became the centre of a circle of intelligent literary men and wielded considerable guiding and chastening influence upon many aspirants after literary fame. He was averse to work, otherwise he would surely have been able to leave behind him works of permanent value like his illustrious brother. His prose is chaste and precise, a model of vigorous idiomatic writing, without any affection and without any vulgarity.

His books are not many but the few that he wrote are books of abiding joy and permanent value. His *Jal Pratap Chandra*, *Kanthamala*, *Madhavilata*, *Palamau* are written in simple, chaste, and lucid language and there is a grace in them, which even Bankim has not surpassed in his works.

By sheer luck, I have come across a diary kept by him in the year 1882 through his grandson *Satanjiva Chatterjee*. It will show a flood light into the dark recesses of the forgotten days of the Bengali Renaissance, when Bankim Chandra was the renowned literary king of Bengal. In the first part of 1882 Bankim Chandra was at Alipur and he joined Joypur in Balasar on the 8th August of the same year.

We shall give to the curious readers several specimens of this instructive and pleasing diary. The first January 1882 was a Sunday and Sanjiv Chandra was at Calcutta on that day. Here is what he wrote: "The morning looked a little cloudy. I met Babu Kally Prasanno Ghose, editor of *Bandhab* and had a talk with him about an agency to be organized for circulation of popular books in every village of Bengal.

Noon—Felt somewhat weak, did very little.

Evening—Bankim had read Sennet's *Occult Science* and was in ecstasy. He insisted on my reading the book which I commenced and went through nearly half (81 pages) of it. It is full of high admonition of our *Yoga Darshan* which he considers a primitive science."

This is very interesting. A research scholar may try to find out Sennet's influence on Bankim. We all know that Bankim was

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internally fond of Yoga—the above note gives us a new clue. We may try to find traces of western influence in his thought-pattern and study and analyse how he was once to blend his great love for Indian culture, notice his equal openness of mind towards all that was good in the West. In 1882 a commission was appointed under the Chairmanship of Sir William Hunter to review the progress of education. The talk about popularising books in village may be the result of the liberal outlook which was in the atmosphere at the time.

The diary of the Second runs as follows :—

Morning—Bankim introduced me to Babu Dwijendranath Tagore who had come on a return visit. He is a hearty and unpretending middle-aged man but not very learned. I had a talk with him about the question mooted previous day with editor of Bandhab relating dissemination of popular literature throughout Bengal. He politely agreed with me but I doubt whether he grasped the whole question. It was proposed and agreed to call a meeting in the next Sunday for the purpose.

Noon—There was a fancy fair at the Zoo. I declined to go. I was introduced to R. L. Dutta, Jt. Magistrate at Bankim's.

Evening—There was a gathering of literary men at Bankim's; Poet Hem Chandra, Raj Kissen Mookerjee, Chandra Bose, Bankim also myself none else. Hem read some of his poems as well as Bankim's. Raj Kissen also read his 'Oosa' and the conversation was generally on subjects literary and social. But there was charm : I and Raj Kissen were faced to join.

Dwijendra Nath, the eldest brother of Rabindra Nath, the poet was a profound scholar and philosopher. It seems that his modesty was misunderstood by the writer.

It further appears that Sanjiv was a great enthusiast for advancement of learning. The brief report about the literary meeting raises an interesting question whether the poems of Bankim recited by Hem Chandra were his early compositions or were they contemporary writings. If the latter, they had not been preserved. Of the assembled guests, all were literary men. Chandra Nath Bose was a noted critic. Raj Kissen Mookerjee was a dramatist. Hem Chandra Banerjee was the celebrated poet.

Evening—Saw at our place Balloram, Haroprosad and Kally Prasanna Ghose of Dacca. Had long talks on various subjects and confessed to Kally Prasanna of my own accord that I had omitted his name in the article in Eastern Dacca. Radha Nath Babu accompanied Jyotish home.

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Sri Surendra Nath was then in the height of his popularity. He was a successful candidate in the I.C.S. examination but there were attempts to remove his name from the list. He got his appointment however, with the help of a writ of mandamus. But soon after he was dismissed on flimsy grounds.

He took to public life and founded the Indian Association in 1876 which was to be the centre of an All India movement, based on the conception of a united India. In 1877 there was agitation over the age-limit in the I.C.S. and Surendra Nath led a whirlwind campaign in different cities and its result was as desired an awakening of a spirit of unity and solidarity among the people of India. Similar agitations followed and ultimately in 1885 gave birth to the Indian National Congress.

The evening gathering is a typical instance how the evenings were spent by the intelligentsia at the time. The renaissance was in its full height and people were eager to enrich their minds by all possible means.

6th January. Friday.

Morning—nothing particular.

Noon—Read Hamlet. Met Collector of the landlord. Insisted payment.

Evening—Went to Theatre to see Bandaman's acting of Hamlet. The house was over-crowded. The acting of Mepro Bondett in her character of Ophelia was excellent. I shall never forget her make-up. It was so faithful. Her eyes, her open mouth at the time of singing, her random walks, her contraction of body, and thousand other things made a lasting impression upon my mind. Mr. Bandaman is no less praiseworthy. His grace, his actions are all very exquisite but I think at times he overacts and his foreign accents are also occasionally noticed. Borrowed from Haroprosad Rs. 2/- at the Theatre.

A vivid picture of the acting of Shakespeare's Hamlet with all the delicate nuances of a forgotten day of glory is brought before the mind's eye of the reader with grace and power. Haroprosad is the great scholar. Haraprosad also hailed from the same place. Before attending the theatre Sanjiv Chandra read the drama Hamlet at home. This shows that it was not with the object of getting idle pleasure that he went to witness the play but with the idea of culture attainment and entertainment.

7th January. Saturday.

Morning—Saw Dwan Mittra at his house.

Noon—Petty works at office. Left office at 4 P.M.

Evening—Talked with Kally Prasanna Ghosh who had come to produce a book of his own.

3rd January. Tuesday.

Morning—Received a letter from Poorna Chunder informing me of the serious illness of Nolin.

Noon—Went home and found Nolin better, but not out of danger.

Evening—Passed the evening agreeably in conversation with old company, wife ill.

A family picture but even in the midst of illness, the great lover of company does not forget his associates.

4th January. Wednesday.

Morning—Came to Calcutta by 8 O'clock train. Received from Bankim Rs. 100/- out of which deposited with Omacharan Rs. 21 for payment of house rent for November last.

Noon—Saw Dr. Jogobandhu about some illness of Jyotish. Did very little office work.

Evening—Went home and found Nolin improving. Met several of our villagers and passed the evening agreeably. In my way home by road met Surendra Banerjee. Paid Jyotish Chandra Rs. 48/- for family expenses.

This shows Bankim's love for his family. He used to meet the expenses of the family.

5th January 1882. Thursday.

Morning—Saw Nolin all right and came to Calcutta by 9 O'clock train and met again Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee.

Noon—Jyotish came to Calcutta for medical advice and I passed the time with him at 52 Bowbazar in expectation of the Doctor Jogo. He requested to review it in Bongodarsan.

Many may wrongly think that the diary is of no value because it deals with various topics of unglamorous everyday nature which is not worthy of their attention. The truth is rather otherwise. Many who are devoted students of Bankim and his masterpieces often feel a gulf of difference between him and the miracle-worker. But this diary giving an insight into the daily atmosphere in which he moved would enable the sympathetic reader to understand and appreciate the writings of Bankim in a richer and better manner.

It is a strange thing to be human being. Few of us realise our own position in the world. The conscious realisation of man as man is of great value to every human being. The age of Bankim is a surprising period of glamour to us. This diary will make it real for us. This diary will disclose to us sentiments that still breathe their

purity and which found elegant expression in Bankim's social circle. The moral grandeur will be our solace in the everlasting influence of our present-day sordid life.

Let us be young once more, let us be free and strong and let us have faith in the future with the ardour of this renascent India. Let us drink the cup of youth and be alive and feel ourselves full of life. May the practical spirit of Bankim's age save us and may we seize the torch, whose bright light our robust ancestors saw. It will light our way to the regeneration of India and creation of a nobler India.

THE EXEGETICAL EXPOSITIONS OF THE VEDA—ANTERIOR AND POSTERIOR— THEIR SEQUELÆ

DVIJENDRANATH GUHACHAUDHURI

Treatises, called Brāhmaṇas, explain the formulae and processes of the sacrifices, the purport, significance, purpose thereof and above all, theological discussions and the interpretation of the Vedas ('ब्राह्मणो वेदस्य व्याख्यानम्'). They are composed generally in prose, in some places interspersed with verses. Brāhmaṇas are the first annotator of the Vedas. These are compiled a little after the compilation of the Vedas. The mantras are uttered during the performance of sacrificial rites. But, for the purpose of understanding the holy texts, the explanation is essentially required. Hence, the Brāhmaṇas.¹ Innumerable passages of the Veda are explained in them. The concluding portions of the Brāhmaṇas are known as *Āraṇyakas* ('forest texts'—'आरण्यकं वेदानां व्याख्यानमेव'). They deal with the meditations of anchorites and sages on God and the universe. These people lived in the forest far away from the din and bustle of the work-a-day world and devoted themselves to meditation. This, their habitation, perhaps might have lent their names to the works they composed ('अरण्येऽध्यानादेव आरण्यकमुदाहृतम्'). They, also, contained the germ of the ancient Indian philosophy a good deal. The last portions of the *Āraṇyakas* are called *Upaniṣads* ('ब्रह्मतत्त्वभूयिष्ठाः खलु उपनिषदः आशिक्षभावेन वेदानां व्याख्यानम् कृतम् । उपनिषोदति प्राप्नोति ब्रह्मात्मभावोऽनया उप + नि—सद्—क्विप् । ब्रह्मविद्यायां तत्प्रतिपादके वेदशिरोभागे वेदान्ते च')². Each and every recension, of the Veda, has separate Brāhmaṇas, *Āraṇyakas* and *Upaniṣads*.

The subject-matter of the Brāhmaṇas is as follows :—

(1) the processes and formulae of the sacrifices, (2) the अर्थवाद or the explanation of the passages, and (3) the उपनिषद् or the philosophical doctrine of the Vedas. In the Vedic literature, the prose portions of the *Yajurveda* are supposed to be the most ancient of all treatises. The Brāhmaṇas are of later origin than the prose texts of

¹ For the prose of the Brāhmaṇas *vide* H. Oldenberg, *Zur Geschichte der altindischen Prosa*, pp. 13 ff., 20 ff., 28 ff.

² O. Wecker, *Der Gebrauch der Kasus in der Upaniṣadliteratur*, Göttingen, 1905 (Bezz Beitr.); On the language of the Upaniṣads *vide* B. Liebhich, Pāṇini, Leipzig, 1891, p. 62 ff.

the *Yajurveda*. Among the Brāhmaṇas, the पञ्चविंश Brāhmaṇa¹ (of the *Sāmaveda* and the तैत्तिरीय Brāhmaṇas (of the *Black Yajurveda*) are the oldest.² The second annotation originates from the renaissance of the Brāhmaṇas. During this time, the प्रातिशाख्य, the धातुप्रक्रिया, the स्वरप्रक्रिया, the षड्वेदाङ्गादि were composed. The Brāhmaṇas explain the Vedic passages where required. The treatises, mentioned before, enunciate the process of interpreting the texts of the Vedas quite in a scientific manner as propounded by the Brāhmaṇas. From the perusal of the texts (of the Veda), it appears that the work was by different hands at different periods (*cf.* Rv. I, 1, 2 ; I, 27, 4 ; I, 62, 13 ; I, 166, 15 ; III, 32, 13 ; VII, 22, 9 ; VII, 18, 4 ; etc.) ; and, added to the difficulty, the work was hoary with age ; so the holy texts became too difficult and intricate to be understood and elaborate expositions were needed for them. The Hindus hold that the Vedas contain the nucleus of all knowledge. What is not contained in them, is not regarded at all as the true significance of knowledge. There are, however, a large number of hymns remaining, the explanation of which is doubtful and in many cases obscure. So, in interpretation of many of the isolated passages of the R̥gveda as well as other Vedas and for the exact appreciation of the ancient production of these writings, good commentaries were prepared to avoid the texts of the Vedas being misunderstood and wrongly commented upon. Hence, an army of scholiasts were in the field to interpret the Vedas correctly.

From the days of yore, the Indian scholars engaged themselves with the interpretation of the Vedas, with the result of the advent of Yāska's first commentary of the R̥gveda. Yāska's gloss is mainly based on the निघण्टुs ("Glossaries"). They are the collections of rare and obscure words which are commonly lodged in the hymns of the Veda. The great Vedic scholar Yāska explains a large number of verses in his work निरुक्त ("Etymology") which, in turn, is one of the six subsidiary branches of the Vedas as said elsewhere. In his निरुक्त, Yāska mentions his predecessors. According to the Western scholars such as Vincent Smith, Winternitz, etc., Yāska flourished in the 8th century before the birth of Christ. Hence, he was anterior to Pāṇini, the great grammarian who is supposed to flourish about the fifth century B.C. Yāska considers the Veda as revealed and holds the orthodox view of the Aryans. The etymologists, in

¹ Bibliotheca Indica 1870-1874; "Gods and Saints of the Great Brāhmaṇa"—an analysis by E. W. Hopkins; Critical notes by W. Caland, ZDMG 72, 1918, 19ff.

² Bibl. Ind. 1855-1890, ASS No. 37; For the contents of the Taitt. Br., *vide* HOS, Vol. 18, pp. lxxvi ff, A.B. Keith.

support of their explanation, cite illustrations from the holy texts. In this way the meaning of difficult words and the interpretation of difficult passages have correctly been interpreted, and thus clears up the way of easy access to the study of the Vedas. Yāska has interpreted the Veda on the basis of taking the words derived from the verbal roots. There are two vivid opinions about it. Among them शाकटायन, an ancient grammarian, philosopher and the founder of a large school, called the Nairuktas (Etymologists), is of opinion that all नामs (substantives) are derived from धातुs (verbal roots). But among others गार्ग्य is one who is opposed to the said statement. He denies that all नामs are derived from धातुs.¹ It is said that, in support of his statement, शाकटायन wrote उणादिसूत्रs (i.e., "the uṇādi affixes are those by which nouns are formed from roots, the nouns being used in a conventional sense, and not in strict accordance with their radical meaning * * * * the greater number of words explained by the genuine उणादिसूत्रs, are Vedic, some of them exclusively so * * * * originally, the उणादिसूत्रs were intended for the Veda only, and they were afterwards enlarged by adding rules on the formation of non-Vedic words")² and the same was supported by Pāṇini by the dictum "उणादयो बहुलम्"।

Possibly, after Yāska, Patañjali, the great commentator of Pāṇini's अष्टाध्यायी सूत्रपाठ explains five ṛiks (verses)³ of the R̥gveda in a very terse and lucid manner. In the पश्यशा⁴ of his monumental commentary महाभाष्य, the Sage Patañjali, unlike Yāska, argues in favour of the utility of Grammar. He deals not only with the study of Grammar as indispensable, but also furnishes manifold information regarding the antiquities of the glorious land of the Aryans. It is essentially required to study the great commentary of Patañjali if anybody wishes to learn the aphorisms of Pāṇini. He who is content to leave aside the महाभाष्य unstudied without any least doubt, stands convicted as a half-educated man in the realm of Sanskrit

¹ "तत्र नामान्वाख्यातजानीति शाकटायनो नैरुक्तसमयश्च"—(Yāska's, *Nirukta*, 1, 12).

"न सर्वाणीति गार्ग्यो वैयाकरणानां चेके" (*ibid*).

² Max Müller's, *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 1926, p. 78, edited by the Pāṇini office, Bhuvaneshwari Ashrama, Bahadurganj, Allahabad.

³ Rv. I, 164, 45; IV, 58, 3; VIII, 69, 12; X, 7, 1, 2 & 4.

⁴ पश्यशा is the name of the first चाङ्गिक (a particular part) of the 1st. Chapter of Patañjali's महाभाष्य on पाणिनीयव्याकरणसूत्रवृत्तिः।

The time of Patañjali is the second century B. C. (Vide Winternitz's, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, 1927, Calcutta, p. 35). Macdonell puts it thus—"He probably lived in the later half of the second century B.C., and in any case not later than the beginning of our era". (*A History of Sanskrit Literature*, London, Appendix, p. 431).

language. If Patañjali did not write his पश्यशा, then surely grammar would have missed a very forceful and vigorous advocacy—

“सर्वस्यैव हि शास्त्रस्य कर्मणे वापि कस्यचित् ।

यावत् प्रयोजनं नीतं तावत्तत् केन गृह्यते ॥”

* * * केचित्तु पदं वाक्यमाहुः निबन्धनं च भाष्यम् । एवं विधापि
शब्दविद्यानुक्तपश्यशा नाभाति । इति वल्लभदेवः ।¹

It is nothing to be exaggerated in saying that, if any native of India wishes to acquire a chaste and elegant style in the sacred language of the Aryans, if any scholar wishes to render his listeners spell-bound with the magnetic influence of style and diction and of vocabularies, if any scholar wishes to aspire to the power of argument with a masterly eloquence in the domain of grammatical science, he should read the contents of the महाभाष्य by day, meditate upon it by night, study it thoroughly and attentively and, last but not the least, emboss it on the mind and impress it upon the heart! The कान्दोग्यमन्त्रभाष्य of Guṇaviṣṇu is a commentary on selections of Vedic Mantras to be chanted in connection with the sacrificial rites by householder (गृहमेधी) of the Sāmavedins. They occur in the texts of the Samhitās, the Brāhmaṇas of the Vedas as well. Most of them prominently appear in the texts of मन्त्रब्राह्मण and गोभिलगृह्यसूत्र of the Sāmaveda. Guṇaviṣṇu is considered by the scholars as an esteemed authority on the interpretation of Vedic Mantras concerning the rituals. The great स्मार्त्त Raghunandana showed his reverence towards Guṇaviṣṇu by quoting several times in his स्मृतितत्त्व² He flourished in the 16th century. Followed by Raghunandana, a distinguished scholar of the 17th century, Ramanāth Vidyāvācaspati honoured Guṇaviṣṇu by quoting largely from his works. He was the author of सामगामन्त्रव्याख्यान (a commentary on मन्त्र of domestic affairs of the Sāmavedins). Guṇaviṣṇu was regarded as an old commentator in the early part of the 17th century. There is a good deal of difference of opinion among scholars as to the date of Guṇaviṣṇu. Some are of opinion that he flourished during the latter part of the 13th century. Others (including Halāyudha who in his own account states in the ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व³) hold that Guṇaviṣṇu was in the service of King Lakṣmaṇa Sena of Gauḍa, thus making Guṇaviṣṇu and Halāyudha

¹ Quoted in Vallabhadeva's commentary “Sandeha-Vishvaushadhi” on *Sisupālavadha*, II, 112.

² अष्टाविंशतितत्त्वानि—रघुनन्दन भट्टाचार्य । Ed. वैद्योपाध्याय दे, कलिकाता ।

³ A treatise consists of annotations of selected Mantras served the affairs in accordance with the Grhya ceremonies to be performed by the followers of Vs. ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व—

contemporaries in the same court. Another band of scholars asserts that Guṇaviṣṇu was an older contemporary of Halāyudha. Aniruddha, the author of *पितृदयिता*¹ was the preceptor of King Vallālsena. Guṇaviṣṇu presented himself at the court of the said king and his son as well. Thus, he became a junior contemporary of Aniruddha. Hence, it may be stated here without any fear of contradiction that Guṇaviṣṇu belonged to the 12th century, thus preceding, by two centuries, the great Vedic Scholar Sāyaṇāchāryya who flourished during the second half of the 14th century in the kingdom of Vijayanagara in the Deccan. "As there seems to be reason" continues Prof. Sten Konow, "for assuming that Guṇaviṣṇu is older than Sāyaṇa, his commentary deserves serious attention" (*Acta Orientalia*, Vol. IX, part iv). Dr. W. Stede speaks: "The commentary of Guṇaviṣṇu is well-known in India as explaining the mantras used in the rituals of the Sāmavedins..... It deserves attention and credit, because we here find some explanations of Vedic passages which are older than what is referred to by Sāyaṇa" (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Jan., 1932). Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasād Sāstrī, M.A., D. Litt., C.I.E., remarks: "It has the excellences of a commentary clear, concise, expressive and lucid" (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 4). Prof. M. Winternitz (Professor of Indology and Ethnology, German University of Prague, Czechoslovakia) observes—"This is a highly interesting Vedic text, the commentary and the Indices are very useful." The works of Guṇaviṣṇu are three in number; (i) *छान्दोग्यमन्त्रभाष्य*, (ii) *मन्त्रब्राह्मण*² the majority of the mantras and the commentaries thereon are quite identical with the *छान्दोग्यमन्त्रभाष्य*, (iii) the commentary on the mantras of *पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र* of Vajasaneyi Samhitā.³ The said works of Guṇaviṣṇu are akin in character, i.e., they are the commentaries on Vedic mantras applicable in the performance of domestic ceremonies in general. The most notable features of the commentaries of Guṇaviṣṇu are brevity

श्रीमत्तुल्लूयवेन विरचितम् । श्रीयुक्ततेजश्चन्द्रविद्यानन्देन सम्पादितम् । श्रीगणेशचन्द्रधोषेण प्रकाशितम् ।
द्वितीयसंस्करणम् । कलिकाता, १२२६ ।

¹ Vide the introduction of the book—ed. by Sanskrit-Sāhitya-Parishad Series, Calcutta, No. 6.

² *छान्दोग्यब्राह्मणभाष्य* (as entitled) in the *Descriptive catalogue of MSS. in the Central Library*, Baroda, Vol. I, p. 112, *Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa* or *Mantra Brāhmaṇa* of the *Sāmaveda* with the *Bhāṣyas* of Guṇaviṣṇu and Sāyaṇāchāryya edited from original manuscripts with Critical Notes, Introduction, Indices and Appendices by Śrī D. M. Bhaṭṭāchāryya, Professor of Vedic Language, Literature and Culture. The Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, Texts & Studies.

³ *छान्दोग्यमन्त्रभाष्य* (the Mithilā Recension) ed.—Mahāmahopādhyāya Paremeśvara Jhā, Dārbbhaṅgā, p. 174.

and lucidity and references to the ritualistic bearings of the mantras thus aptly quoted. His knowledge of the निघण्टु and the निरुक्त is clear from the several quotations occurring in the छान्दोग्यमन्त्र-भाष्य । In grammatical annotations, he followed the precepts of Pāṇini throughout. The etymological deliberations are altogether absent in Guṇaviṣṇu's gloss. In short, the commentaries of Guṇaviṣṇu are not at all well written as compared with the great commentary of Sāyaṇa.

हलायुधभाष्यम्—Halāyudha flourished in the reign of King Lakṣmaṇa Sena of Gauḍa. He adorned his court as minister and commented on a few mantras of the Veda in the treatise, 'ब्राह्मणसर्व्वेख'¹ Elsewhere said the Vedāṅgas are the indispensable treatises for the interpretation of the Vedas. Besides these Vedāṅgas, a Vedic commentator must possess the knowledge of the contents of the Purāṇas, the Itihāsas² the traditions and the Dharmasāstras as well. These will serve the purpose of understanding and appreciating the texts of the Vedas, as the mantras are involved, some-way or other, in the said treatises. He must be well acquainted with the Anukramaṇis (Vedic Indices) as well. These will give information of ṛṣi (seer), devatā (deity) and metre. It is a class of work which quotes the first words of each hymn, its author, the deity celebrated in it, the number of verses and the

¹ Benares edition in lithography.

² "इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपहृष्येत्"—महाभारत १।१२।६७ ;

History—इतिहस [इत-गत ($\sqrt{\text{इ} + \text{क्त}}$), हत्—घटना], इतहत्—अतीत घटना (past events) । History—Gk. *Historia* (from *histor*-knowing), investigation, *Historia*—Knowledge, knowledge of events, facts. इति ह आस—इति=इहा, ह=निश्चय, आस=हृदयस्थित (from असु—'अतीत' अर्थे Vedic usage)—remotest past events, these should be genuine. See Av. 15, 6, 4. 'नारायणी' (in the Veda) is almost 'History', dealing with ancient genealogy, praising the attributes of men, etc. 'इतिहास' is found in Pāṇini's Grammar. It is 'पुराहत्' of the Vedic age. Afterwards, it meant 'tradition'. Those who commented keeping tradition in tact, were known as 'ऐतिहासिकाः ।' In latter ages, 'इतिहास' is understood as 'myth', 'legend', 'story'—'आख्यान', 'आख्यायिका', 'कथा', etc., etc. The appellation of 'इतिहास' is this—"धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणामुपदेशसमन्वितम् । पूर्व्वहत् कथायुक्तं इतिहासं प्रचक्षते ॥" That of 'पुराण'—"सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशोमन्वन्तराणि च । वंशानुचरितश्चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥" See आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र ४।६।६, (इतिहासः पुराण) ; कौटिल्यअर्थशास्त्र १।५।१०-१४ (इतिहास), ५।६।२५...Kaṭilya meant 'इतिहास' in the sense of 'पुराण', 'इतिहत्', 'आख्यायिका', 'उदाहरण', 'धर्मशास्त्र', 'अर्थशास्त्र' । He said 'इतिहास' as 'इतिहास वेद', as, महाभारत—'इतिहास वेद ।' See *Sat. Br.*, 13, 4, 3; *Sāṅk. Gr. Sū.* 1, 25, 11, etc.; also, कुलवृत्त्य । The 'इतिहास' and 'पुराण' are different thing—"इतिहासः पुराणम्", *Br. Up.*, 2, 4, 10; 41, 2; 4, 5, 11. *Do.*, *Mait. Up.*, 1, 32, 33. In the relation of a part to the whole, thus—"इतिहासपुराणं पुष्पम्", *Chh. Up.*, 3, 4, 1; "एतेऽथर्वाङ्मिरुष्ट तादितिहासपुराणमध्यतवान्", *Do.*,

metre in which it is composed,¹ before he (scholar or Vedic lore) wishes to proceed to the study of the Vedas and its interpretations. Sāyaṇa holds the orthodox view on the authority of Mīmāṃsā texts that the Veda is self luminous (स्वतः प्रमाण), and he, too, by way of conclusive proofs from the Classical Mīmāṃsā writers, propounds the theory of अपौरुषेयत्व of the Veda. He not only gives the true nature of the Vedic mantras, but also intends furnishing some intelligible meaning behind it.² In short, Sāyaṇa mainly utilises the help thus afforded by the Vedāṅgas, the Purāṇas, the Itihāsas, the traditions and the Mīmāṃsās in interpreting the Vedas. The commentaries of Sāyaṇa are divided into three parts: (i) Introduction to all *sūktas* (hymns), where he gives the name of the seer, the deity, the metre, the purpose and the application connected thereon the sacrifices with apt references from the texts of the *Śrauta Sūtras*, &c., (ii) Annotations of all *riks* with every item of mythological interest associated with the meaning of it with occasional references where required, (iii) The etymological discussions, suggesting the meanings of difficult words according to the rules of etymology where Yāska even is wholly silent. The first *Aṣṭaka* of *R̥gveda* abounds in the discussion of grammatical aphorisms regarding the formation of words. In it, the rules of phonetics (स्वरप्रक्रिया) plays a very prominent part in the interpretation of the Vedic mantras. The great Vedic exegetist Sāyaṇāchārya has not left a single word unexplained, however obscure and rare it may be. He has sometimes given a number of different interpretations of single Vedic hymns, supplementing them with apt quotations.³ In the opinion of the great Vedic scholar Prof. Avināśa Chandra Guha, M.A., B.L., the commentary of Sāyaṇa was composed in the fourteenth century of the Christian era. Protest had been found in the works of 3, 4, 2; “अध्वोवि...इतिहासपुराणम्”, Do., 7, 1, 2; ‘नाम वै इतिहासपुराणः’, Do., 7, 1, 4, etc., etc.

¹ “यो ह वा अविदितायेयकन्दोदैवतप्राज्ञायेन सन्नेय याजयति वाच्यापयति वा स्थापुं वर्च्छति गर्ते वा पात्यते प्रसीयते वा पापीयान् भवति”—सर्वानुक्रमणी of *Kātyāyana*. Edited by A. A. Macdonell, Oxford (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*), 1886, together with *Anuvākānukramanī* and *Shadgurusishya's* comm.

² Sāyaṇāchārya's, *Introduction to the R̥gveda*—Ed. by Dr. Paśupati Nāth Sāstrī, M.A., B.L., Ph. D. Sanskrit-Sāhitya-Parishad Series, No. 9, Calcutta, pp. 7-10. Also सामवेदभाष्योपक्रमणिक,—“मन्त्रैरर्थानुस्मरणस्वनिर्णयः।”² शुक्लयजुर्वेदान्तर्गतायाः काण्वसंहिताभाष्योपक्रमणिका—“मन्त्रस्य सामान्यलक्षणनिरूपणम्”। ऋगादीनां त्रिविधानां विशिष्टलक्षणनिर्देशः मन्त्राणाम्”। मन्त्राणामनुष्ठेयार्थस्मारकत्वप्रतिपादनम्।”

³ ‘नव्यभारत’, षट्त्रिंश खण्ड, १२३ संख्या, चैत्र, १३२५, पृ: ५५४।

Bhaṭṭojidīkṣit—“ख्रीष्टीय चतुर्दश शताब्दीते से भाष्य प्रणीतं ह्ये। षोडश वा समदश शताब्दीतेऽत्र भट्टोजिदीक्षितेन ग्रन्थे तार प्रतिवादं देखिते पादः।” The great scholar paid his high tribute of respect of the erudition of Sāyaṇa in winding up the article—“एषार नामकरण,” thus—“स-ब्राह्मण सारग्रन्थं चतुर्विंशे भाष्यकार, परमवैयाकरण, परमधर्मशास्त्रविद्, सर्वदर्शननिष्ठात, उभयमीमांसाधुरन्धर, ब्रह्मवादिवरेण्य माधवाचार्य! तार नामे एदेशे कार माथा ना हेँट ह्ये? किन्तु भट्टोजिदीक्षित ताँहाकेओ अभिमानेन नाइ। आमादेरओ मानिवार प्रयोजन नाइ।” Indeed his commentary not only showed the light of interpretation of the holy texts but also served as a model of right way in which these most ancient sacred texts should be handled.¹ According to Max Müller, the commentary of सुज्ञल is nothing but the *verbatim* reproduction of Sāyaṇa's great commentary on the *Rigveda*. The erudite Vedic Scholar Prof. Avināśa Chandra Guha, M.A., B.L., says about the सुज्ञल भाष्य—“सुज्ञल भाष्य। एओ ऋग्वेदेइ भाष्य। मोक्षमूलरइ प्रथम इहार परिचय दियाकिलेन। ताहाते जानि, ए भाष्य सायणभाष्येरइ एकटा तुच्छ नकल मात्र। यदि ताइ ह्ये, तवे सायणेर समालोचनाय इहारओ समालोचना हइयाके * * * * * आमि ए सुज्ञल भाष्य कखनओ देखि नाइ। ए पर्थन्त ताहा सुद्धित हइयाके वलियाओ आमार जाना नाइ। तार पुँथिओ वड़ सुलभ वलिया बोध ह्ये ना। आउफ्रेहत् (Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, 3 Vols., Leipzig, 1891-1903) हस्तलिखित पुँथिर कोनओ सुद्धित तालिकाय सुज्ञल भाष्येर उल्लेख ना पाइया तज्जन्य मोक्षमूलरेर ऐ भूमिकाइ देखिते वलियाकेन। मोक्षमूलरके इहार एकखाना पुँथि डातार हल् काशी हइते पाठाइयाकिलेन।”² Gauḍapāda, the teacher of Govinda, whose pupil was the great Vedāntist Commentator, Śaṅkara (about 800 A.D.) wrote commentaries on the Vedic mantras which are found in Chāndogya-Kaṭha-Māṇḍūkya-Muṇḍaka-Kena-Taittirīya Śvetāśvatara, etc., Upaniṣads. He did not comment on the original texts of the Vedas. Those who commented on the Vedic mantras after Uvaṭa, Śaṅkara occupied the foremost place among them—“उवटादनन्तरं अन्ये ये भाष्यकारा वेदमन्त्राणां व्याख्यां कृतवन्त स्तेषु भगवान्शङ्कराचार्य एव गरीयान्। परन्तु तेन कस्यापि मूलवेदस्य व्याख्या न कृता, तेन तु बृहदारण्यकोपनिषदां वेदान्तदर्शनस्य भगवद्भोतायाश्च व्याख्यानम् आचरितम्। अथ तस्य भगवतः शङ्करस्य शिष्यैरेव शङ्करोपनामभिः छान्दोग्य-

¹ For further study of Sāyaṇa, his life and works—vide, my article ‘Sāyaṇāchārya’, *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. II, Sept., 1935, No 12, pp. 301-308; ओसायणाचार्य, “उद्बोधन”, ३२२ वर्ष, ५म संख्या, जैष्ठ, १३४४, पृ: २६७-२७१।

² *Rigveda-Samhitā*, Ed. by Max Müller, 1st. edition, Vol. III, preface, xii; “नव्यभारत”, षट्त्रिंश खण्ड, १२२ संख्या, चैत्र, १३२५, “एवार नामकरण”, पृ: ५५० एवं उहार पादटीका।

कठमाण्डूक्यमुण्डककेनतैत्तिरीयश्वेताश्वतरप्रभृतीनामुपनिषदां व्याख्या कृता । तत्र तत्र ये ये वेदमन्त्राः सन्ति तै स्तोषामिव व्याख्यानं कृतमिति ।” (Vidyāratna’s *Introduction to the R̥gveda Samhitā*, उपोद्घात प्रकरणम्, p. 138). The path, as chalked out by the commentary of Yāska’s *Nirukta*, is followed by many Vedic scholars prior to Sāyaṇāchārya regarding the interpretation of the Vedas. There are commentators whose names are found in the exposition of the Vedas but their works are still unknown to human knowledge. The following are the glossators of different Vedas with dates:—

The R̥gveda—

(i) स्कन्दस्वामी (630 A.D.) ; (ii) नारायण (630 A.D.) ; (iii) उद्गुणीय (630 A.D.) ; (iv) हस्तामलक (700 A.D.) ; (v) वैङ्कट माधव (middle part of 12th century) ; (vi) लक्ष्मण (early part of 12th century) , (vii) धानुष्कयज्वा (13th century) ; (viii) आनन्दतीर्थ (1198-1278 of Christian era) ; (ix) आत्मानन्द (13th century) ; (x) रावण (16th century) ; (xi) चतुर्वेदस्वामी (16th century) ; (xii) उवट (11th century)¹ (xiii) देवस्वामी ; (xiv) भट्ट भास्कर ; (xv) हरदत्त ; (xvi) सुदर्शनसूरि ; (xvii) भवस्वामी ; (xviii) राहदेव ; (xix) श्रीनिवास ; (xx) भास्करमिश्र ; (xxi) माधवदेव ; (xxii) मध्वाचार्य ।

The Yajurveda—

(i) हरिस्वामी (581 A.D.) ; (ii) उवट (11th century) ; (iii) गौरधर (1293 of Christian era) ; (iv) रावण (16th century) ; (v) महीधर (16th century) ; (vi) शौनक ; (vii) भट्टभास्कर ; (viii) भवस्वामी ; (ix) गुहदेव ; (x) वालकृष्णदीक्षित ; (xi) मध्वाचार्य ।

The Sāmaveda—

(i) भरतस्वामी (14th Century) ; (ii) सूर्यदेवज्ञ (16th Century) ; (iii) शोभाकरभट्ट (15th Century) ; (iv) माधव ; (v) महास्वामी ; (vi) तुलसीरामस्वामी (in recent time).

The Atharvaveda—

(i) पण्डितक्षेमकरण (in recent time) ; (ii) मध्वाचार्य ।

¹ Uvaṭa (not a seer) was supposed to be the youngest brother of सुहृल । He flourished in the reign of King Bhoja. He was a dweller of Ānandapur, a village in northern Guzrāt, 70 miles south-east of Sidhpur (St. Martin as cited in Mc Crindle’s *Ptolemy*), but still there is a place called Ānandpur, 50 miles north-west of Valabhī. That village was anciently named Ānarttapura (vide two copper-plate inscriptions of Ā. inā of A.D. 649 and 651, cited in *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, Cal. Oriental Series, No. 21. E, 13., Second Ed., 1927, p. 6). He was the son of Bajraṭākhyā—

“आनन्दपुरवास्तव्यवचटाख्यस्य सूनुना ।

सन्तभाष्यमिदं कृतं भोजे पृथ्वीं प्रशासति ॥”

The names of Vedic scholiasts such as स्कन्धस्वामि-भवस्वामि-राहुदेव-श्रीनिवास-माधवदेव-उवटभट्ट-भास्करमिश्र-भरतस्वाम्यादि are also found in Devarāja Yajwa's "Nirvachana" of *Nighaṇṭu* (*Nirukta*).¹ Among the modern Indian commentators of the Ṛgveda, Swāmi Dayānanda occupied a prominent place in the sphere of Vedic Culture. He wrote a commentary on the Ṛgveda upto the first-half of Maṇḍala VI. He was a religious reformer. He wished to disband the so-called religious belief in the Hindu Community. Out of the ashes of it, a true religion is to be formed which is sanctioned by the Vedas and to be quite harmonised with the religious faith of the Hindus. With this object in view he tried his best to interpret the texts of the Vedas. His arguments may be put summarily, thus, the Vedas are merely the compilation of songs. The social customs and usages, religious faith and order of the Aryans, may be found somewhat in concise form, but not in detail. Swāmiji was of opinion that there was no caste-system in the Vedic age, the education of the females and their free movements were found, too, in the Vedic age. The Vedas abound with all sorts of topics. The educated community wishes to borrow European culture and ideas and they wish to instal them in the Vedas. This is quite inconsistent with the opinion of Swāmi Dayānanda. In his opinion, the doctrine of the Vedas is based on monotheism (एकेश्वरवाद). (An enquiry is made whether the religion of the Veda is polytheistic or monotheistic. It is decidedly not monotheistic in the strict sense of the term, inasmuch as prayers are addressed to several gods instead of one. We have references to monotheism (Rv. X, 121, 8), and mention is made of हिरण्यगर्भ who is described as the supreme God ; except this tendency to monotheism there is no definite idea of monotheism of the Vedic pantheon, for none of the sacrifices were offered to a single god—there are innumerable passages in which many gods are praised and invoked at the same time). The great religious reformist and exegetist, Śaṅkarāchārya, recognised only the उपनिषद् as the doctrines of monotheism of the Vedas. Swāmiji went further and said that the cult of monotheism is inhaled throughout the whole Veda. He derives the word अग्नि as अग्ने नीयते and explains it as ईश्वर whereas Sāyaṇa refers it as 'fire' by the same derivation. He, also, derives the word धान्य from the root धा (to uphold) and explains it as ईश्वर because ईश्वर upholds the 'world'. Hence ईश्वर is धान्य, thus rejecting the derivation of Sāyaṇa. This is in accordance with the commentary prior to

¹ Vide टीकाभूमिका, p. 3, Jibānanda's edition, Calcutta, 1891.

Mahābhārata, and the said exposition is nothing but निगम, निरुक्त and others. Sāyaṇa in almost all cases followed the explanation of Yāska's निरुक्त, still Swāmiji spared no pains to attack him. We give below some of Dayānanda Swāmi's mode of interpretation. In commenting upon a famous ṛik (verse) of the Rv. (I, 164, 33), he puts, thus, in his भाष्य —‘उत्तानयोः...पृथिवीचूर्ययोः’ । This is not at all justifiable. On the other hand, ‘द्यावापृथिव्योः’—‘स्वर्गभारतवर्षयोः’ is acceptable. ‘योनि’ not ‘गृहम्’, rather ‘उत्पत्तिस्थानं निदानमिति’,—‘पिता’—‘सूर्यः’(?) is Swāmiji's unbearable error. ‘गर्भ’—‘किरणाख्यम्’ is not a happy expression. In explaining this ṛik (I, 159, 4), Swāmiji falls flat in his argument continually—‘हे’ is not masculine, on the other hand, it refers to ‘द्यावापृथिव्या’ (cf. I, 159, 1 ; I, 160, 1). ‘जामी’—‘सुखभोक्तारौ’ ; ‘स योनौ’—‘समाना योनिः’ ‘तन्तु’—‘विस्तृतं ; वस्तु, विज्ञानं वा’ ; ‘दिवि-विद्युतिं सूर्यं वा’ ; ‘समुद्रे’—‘सागरे वा’—are opposed to one another according to the Veda. ‘दिवि देवाः’—what kind of place is ‘दिव्’ ? ‘विद्युति’, ‘सूर्य’, ‘सागरे’—these are not meant for dwelling places of देवाः as in disguised form of mankind. ‘ममिरे’ is absent from genuine derivation both to Swāmiji and Sāyaṇa. In the ṛik (III, 54, 9), Swāmiji's interpretation is without foundation, rather exaggerating. The explanation of this ṛik (III, 38, 2) is rather far-fetched, too difficult to be understood ; ‘इना’ thus Vāskalā's suggestion in the pada-pāṭha, is not justifiable. In the Veda, ‘अश्विना’ is dual masculine gender ; plural is not used at all. Hence, ‘इना’-‘इनान्’ is not a correct form. ‘द्यां विद्युतम्’—is always fallible. Swāmiji's explanation is not right. What is the प्रमाण of ‘द्यौ विद्युत्’ as well as its annotation in the Veda? The inlaid thought, thus given by Swāmiji, is rather a bit low on his part. In fact, ‘वेदा नित्याः स्वर्गश्च पारलौकिक एव’—then, how is it that the Vedas are composed in heaven? Among the Bengali Scholars Ramānātha Ghosh, Sarasvati, M.A., Prof. of Sanskrit, Dacca College (born of a Kāyastha family), wrote his first commentary on the R̥gveda upto the 4th chapter of Aṣṭaka I : (“वेदप्रकाशिका”—ऋग्वेदभाष्य, बाङ्गाला अनुवाद, बाङ्गाला टिप्पनी, विशदीकृत, व्याख्यात, भाषान्तरैकत) ।

It was composed in Sanskrit language, with Bengali translation and lastly with Bengali commentary also. It was no doubt an inception of the Bengali language, nay more, to the Bengali race. The Vedic culture has been lowered down for many hundred years. Up till now, it is still in slow progress. Bengal is famous for the culture of न्याय, and innumerable versatile scholars honoured this

country by their birth. Ramānātha was a scholar of no mean order. He studied the Vedas and its subsidiary branches voraciously, the knowledge of Vedic grammar was at his finger-ends, and he knew English well. The gist of his opinion with regard to the interpretation of the Veda runs thus—to interpret the text of the Vedas is to unravel some subjective thought (or idea), easy yet sublime, simple yet of lofty import after somehow rendering justice to grammar and lexicon. In the matter of interpretation no one upholds the same view. Differences of opinion must occur. Ramānātha, while explaining the 6th Sūkta in his exegesis, did not approve the comment of Max Müller and, being vexed with him, remarked, “Max Müller could not follow *in toto* the contents of our holy texts.” It is not justified altogether on the part of Ramānātha Sarasvatī to express such unhealthy remark. Paṇḍit Satyavrata Sāmaśramī, the renowned Vedic scholar, wrote commentaries on, as well as translated the texts of, the Yajurveda and the Sāmaveda in Bengali. He, also, edited some of the texts of Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Upanishads, Nirukta, etc., etc. His brother, Brahmaṇarta Sāmādhyaī rendered the famous पुरुषसूक्त (Rv. X, 90) into Bengali. “The Purusha-sūkta may be regarded as the oldest product of the pantheistic literature of India. It is at the same time one of the very latest poems of the Ṛgvedic age ; for it presupposes a knowledge of the three oldest Vedas (X, 90, 9), to which it refers together by name. It also for the first and only time in the Ṛgveda mentions the four castes”¹ (X, 90, 12). Next comes the Bengali version of the distinguished *educationist* Romesh Chandra Dutta, I. C. S., who, in collaboration with Paṇḍit Alokēnātha Nyāyabhūṣaṇa, Bhaṭṭāchāryya, translated the whole of Ṛgveda in prose with occasional annotations, mythological references, etc. His interpretation is chiefly based on European scholars who, on the other hand, explained the texts with *philological criticism and with the modern resources of linguistic science*. Sometimes, the renderings of Dutta are far-fetched, ambiguous, not in conformity with the original text. Sometimes, for the purpose of translation, he rendered योगविभाग (योगविभागादिष्टसिद्धिः—अभीष्ट शब्द-साधनम्) of words by which he made them more complex than the original word or words and thereby made the rendering of the text too difficult to be understood, and the sense cannot be easily grasped out of it. Sometime, he jumbled the similes, and the meanings, he made from it, are rather *outweighed*. The original words are sometimes

¹ Vide A. A. Macdonell's *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 133, London, 1913.

dropped from the translation, and the words he suggested or inserted are not found akin in the original text. Somewhere, he follows Sāyaṇa and, in some places, repudiates him. Sometimes, he commits grammatical mistakes which are not desirable at all. The language of translation is also cramped and constrains and it is rather Sanskritised Bengali. Sometimes, the translator could not follow the idea expressed in the original text and thereby made the translation rather unintelligible. The following is an illustration :¹

Paṇḍit Umeś Chandra Vidyāratna, a versatile scholar of Vedic Literature and Culture (born of a Vaidya family), wrote several treatises on various subjects. Among them Sanskrit Introduction (उपोद्घात प्रकरण) of *Ṛigveda Samhitā*, Part I, is the prominent. It was his cherished desire to edit the hymns on the *Ṛigveda* with the commentaries of Yāska, Uvaṭa, Mahidhara, Sāyaṇa, Dayānanda, Ramānātha Sarasvati, R. C. Dutt and others, followed by his own commentary (‘प्रकृतार्थवाहिनौ’) and Bengali translation of the whole of *Ṛigveda*, to interpret the holy texts of hoary antiquity in the light of true interpretation. “I must say this that my opinions,” continues Paṇḍit Vidyāratna, “do not tally with those of the etymologists and commentators whether they are of India or of other countries of the world I have made it easy for all to decide what is the

¹ Vide Rv., VIII, 48.

For योगविभाग of word (VIII, 48, 1); “य” is absent from the translation (*ibid.*); the sense remains difficult to understand (*ibid.*); from ‘वृद्ध्या’ (from the root वृद्ध—to increase) the meaning ‘वहन’ is far-fetched (VIII, 48, 2); there is the grammatical inaccuracy in taking ‘अस्मान्’ and ‘मत्स्य’ (two different विभक्तis) to be of equal meaning, (VIII, 48, 5); “आमि मनुष्य, हिंसाकारी आमार कि करिबे ?”—the meaning thus suggested is not found akin in the original text (*ibid.*); the simile is jumbled, ambiguous in meaning, and the rendering is not suited (VIII, 48, 4); ‘प्रचक्ष्य’ is dropped from the translation & the rendering of the last portion is not clear (VIII, 48, 6); ‘हि’ is absent; ‘स’ = ‘सिद्ध तुमि’ is also absent from the translation (VIII, 48, 9); insertion of ‘अतएव’ is absent in the original text, and the meaning of the said word is not at all clear (*ibid.*); the meaning of ‘वृचक्षा’ as ‘कर्मनेता’ is rather far-fetched (*ibid.*); translation is not good at all, (VIII, 48, 10); ‘हे सोम’ is absent in the original text (*ibid.*); ‘ऋदूरेण’ (सदूरेण) is adjective to ‘सख्या’ “तुमि उदरेर पीड़ा जन्माइओ ना”—thus rendered, is in conformity with the original text (*ibid.*); ‘इन्द्रपति’ is द्वितीयान्त—‘इन्द्रपद्’ is dropped in the translation, (*ibid.*); ‘अव सन्तम्’ is dropped in the translation (VIII, 48, 11); “यव आयुः प्रतिरत”—here ‘यव’ is rendered, thus—“याइकि पान करिबि” thus bar the आधारवाची ७मी, (*ibid.*); ‘आमरा मनुष्य’ is absolutely dropped in the original text (*ibid.*); ‘अमर्त’ is translated, thus “मरण रहित हईया—”(?). Words suggested are not found akin in the original text, (VIII, 48, 12); “अस्य सलीके सुमती खाम” rendered thus—“अतएव उहार अनुग्रह बुद्धि—”(?)—(*ibid.*); “अतएव”—(?); “इष्ट” cannot be translated as “निन्दा करे” (VIII, 48, 14); “सुवीरास” —“सुन्दर सोमयुक्त हइया” cannot be a happy expression in the translation (*ibid.*); etc., etc.

true interpretation, by first setting forth the commentaries and opinions of other scholars and then stating my own commentaries, just in the same way as I have followed in interpreting the *mantras* of the Vedas.”¹ He had a mind to write a commentary on *Manu*, a dictionary in Bengali and another in Sanskrit, but was prevented by death from completing his editions. Only, *Sanskrit Introduction to the R̥gveda Samhitā* together with several other treatises were out during his life-time. His desire was not fulfilled. In the *Sanskrit Introduction to the R̥gveda Samhitā*, Part I, he discussed the following broad topics whether the Vedas are eternal or ephemeral truths ; whether they were written by men or revealed by God ; when and how they were produced ; whether the first book of mankind—viz. the *Sāmaveda* was written in Mongolia ; whether the birthplace of the *R̥gveda* and *Atharvaveda* was India ; whether the *Yajurveda* was written in *Antarikṣa*, i.e., Turkey, Persia, Afganisthan ; in what order were the Vedas written ; what is the age of the Vedas ; criticism of the commentaries on the Vedas, and a geographical account of the places mentioned in the Vedas. “No other scholar has hitherto written an introduction.” Says Paṇḍit Vidyāratna, “containing so deep researches...My introduction itself is a book. It will give an account of the real history of the Vedas” (Preface, iv). In the opinion of Paṇḍit Vidyāratna, the old dictionaries are incomplete and useless as those of Yāska and others of his class. There is, however, some truths in the old dictionaries (the *निघण्टु*s), but the etymologies of Yāska and others are absolutely useless. The commentary of Yāska, the *Br̥hmaṇa* (commentary on the Vedas) and the existing *भाष्य*s (commentaries) of others are all erroneous. Sāyaṇa’s commentaries on the Vedas are the best. But Paṇḍit Vidyāratna spared no pains to point out several errors and discrepancies in Sāyaṇa’s commentaries too. He scathingly remarked on the mode and method of interpretations of the Vedas of the European scholars though they command a deep knowledge of comparative philology and the historical method, yet their labours, arguments and other qualifications fall flat on the ground in some places. “Sāyaṇa and his disciples were in intimate touch”, continues Paṇḍit Vidyāratna, “with the religious beliefs and traditions of the Hindus, which no European scholar, however profound and vastly learned he may be, can claim. It is an admitted fact that native scholars are far better equipped to appreciate their own things than foreigners, however, shrewd they may be. The commentaries of

¹ *R̥gveda-Samhitā*, Part I, Sanskrit introduction, preface, i.

Sāyaṇa and his disciples, I find to be much more correct than those of the European scholars' (Preface, vi). The true erudition and scholarship existed in Paṇḍit Vidyāratna's personage when he said in terms of eulogy to the European scholars regarding the interpretations of the Vedas—"I have to refer to a few savants such as, Max Müller. Grassmann, Ludwig and others. If they had not published the *Vedas*, we should have remained quite ignorant of them, and have known nothing beyond their names. The European scholars therefore, deserve too many thanks from us" (Preface, v). Rev. Krishnamohar Bannerjee (Indian Christian) wrote an exposition in English on Maṇḍalas I & II of the *Ṛigveda*. A certain Vedic scholar of Bombay composed a commentary on Maṇḍala I only of the *Ṛigveda*, entitled "वेदार्थयत्न". Paṇḍit Ānanda Chandra Vedāntavāgīśa of Ādi Brāhma Samāj (Ex-editor "Tattvabodhinī Patrikā") wrote a brief commentary on some portions of the *Ṛigveda* with Bengali translation. Another exposition on *Ṛigveda* with accent, pada-pāṭha, prose order, Sāyaṇa's commentary, its Bengali translation, a simple and elegant gloss ("वेदोद्बोधिनौ टीका") and Bengali translation, of the original verses in Bengali character, was published in several parts from "The वेदोद्बोधिनौ समिति", Benares (1322—25 B.S.) under the supervision of a large number of Vedic scholars headed by Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Subrahmanya Śāstrī (Agnihotrī), Paṇḍits Anantarām Śāstrī, Prabhudatta Mantra Śāstrī (Agnihotrī), Gourīnātha Dikshitjāujibhaṭṭa and others. An edition of *Ṛigveda Saṃhitā* with the commentaries of Sāyaṇa, Skanda Swāmin, Veṅkatamādhava and translations from original texts into English, Bengali, Hindī, with critical notes and annotations, has been out in several parts (i-iv) from "Indian Research Institute", Cal., 1933. Another edition of *Ṛigveda Saṃhitā* with pada-pāṭha, prose order, elucidation, sense, extract from several commentaries and translations from original text into Bengali language with seer, deity, metre, and accents, has been published in several volumes from the "शास्त्रसिन्धु कार्यालय", Cal., 1341 B. S. Paṇḍit Joydeva Vidyālaṅkāra of Ājmere wrote commentaries on the four Vedas. Mahāmahopādhyāya Āryamuṇi and Paṇḍit Śiva Saṅkar Kāvya-tīrtha's expositions of the Vedas have been highly spoken of by the Vedic scholars far and near. The four Vedas were published with text, Svarachinḥa, padapāṭha, Sāyaṇavāsyam, Vaṅgānuvāda, annotations and explanations in Sanskrit and Bengali by Paṇḍit Durgādās Lāhiri from "The Prithibir Itihāsa Office", Howrah. He was the pioneer of Vedic renaissance in Bengali. Among those who had devoted their time and energy for the cause of study of the Vedas in

Bengal, the names of Rājā Rānmohan Roy, Mahārṣi Devendra Nātha Tagore, Paṇḍits Tārānātha Tarkavāchaspati, Chandrakānta Tarkālaṅkāra, Umesh Chandra Vaṭavyāla, Vidyālaṅkāra, M.A., P.R.S., C.S., Mokṣādā Charaṇa Sāmādhyaī, Amūlyacharaṇa Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Rāmendra Sundara Trivedī, M.A., P.R.S., Rāi Bāhādur Rājā Rājendra Lāl Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E., Prasanna Kumār Vidyāratna, Maheś Chandra Rāy, Tattvanidhi, Dr. Joges Chandra Rāy, Vidyānidhi, M.A., Dwijadāsa Dutta, M.A., Avināśa Chandra Dās, M.A., Ph.D., Avināśa Chandra Guha, M.A., B.L., Maheś Chandra Ghosh, Sītānātha Tattvabhūṣaṇa, Dr. Vidhuśekhara Sāstrī, Śyāmā Charaṇa Kaviratna, Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Sāstrī, M.A., D. Litt., C.I.E., Dr. Rāmādās Sen, Vanamāli Vedāntatīrtha, M.A., Kokileśvara Bhaṭṭāchāryya, M.A., Dr. Pasupati Nātha Sāstrī, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., should be specially mentioned because of their works, erudition, and scholarships in the domain of Vedic culture and learning. The eminent Vedic scholar Umeś Chandra Vaṭavyāla, Vidyālaṅkāra, M.A., C.S., P.R.S., wrote several articles on the *Vedas*. These were compiled in the book “वेद-प्रवेशिका”. Originally, they were published in the “साहित्य” (from 1299-1306 B.S.), the then well-known Bengali monthly journal of Calcutta. He translated, also, some portions of the *Rigveda* into the Bengali language. Another profound and devout Vedic scholar Prof. Avināśa Chandra Guha, Sāstrī, M.A., B.L., wrote a very famous article on the Imperial coronation ceremony in the *Vedas* which goes by the name of “ऐन्द्र महाभिषेक” and the same was published in the “भारती” (अग्रहायण, १३०८, पृ: ७४५-७६०), another prominent Bengali monthly of Calcutta. Speaking of Prof. Avināśa Chandra’s knowledge of Sanskrit, Dr. S. C. Bagchi, LL.D., Principal, University Law College, Calcutta, wrote in the Foreword, vi of his *Juristic Personality of Hindu Deities* (Asutosh Mookerjee Lectures, 1931, University of Calcutta), thus—“Prof. Guha directed my attention to the German authorities on the Vedic literature quoted in the lectures; he has read the proofs of the Sanskrit portion of the third lecture and I am sure that his knowledge of Sanskrit has made this portion quite free from any error.” Also, the following lines that speak of Avināśa Chandra’s deep learning should be read with interest—

“ * * * स्वरूपचन्द्र वरिशालेर एकজন श्रेष्ठ उक्तील ছিলেন ; एवं তত্পুত্র অবিनाশচন্দ্র হাউকোর্টের একজন লক্ষ্যপতিষ্ট উকীল एवं প্রগাঢ় পাণ্ডিত্যের জন্য বিদ্বজ্জনসমাজে সমাদৃত”—“কবিতাবলী”, কলিকাতা, ১৯৪৩, পৃ: ২(পরিচয়);
 ऐ, ऐ, १३६१, द्वितीय संस्करण, पृ: २ (परिचय) । In this connection, we may suggest the reader to go through the article of Rājendralāla

Mittra, LL. D., C.I.E., "An Imperial Coronation in Ancient India" (*Indo-Aryans*, Vol. II, pp. 1-48, Calcutta, 1881). Rāmendra Sundara Trivedī, M.A., P.R.S., Principal, Ripon College, Calcutta, translated "ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण" of the Ṛgveda into Bengali. He wrote "यज्ञकथा" in Bengali in which the principal sacrifices of the Vedas, viz., अग्नि-याग, इष्टि-याग, सोम-याग, पशु-याग, पुष्य-याग, etc., were described. In the preface of the book, [the great educationist Isān Chandra Ghosh, M.A., remarks] about the author, thus—"प्रत्येक प्रबन्धे তিনি যে অসাধারণ পাণ্ডিত্য, গবেষণা ও চিন্তাশীলতার পরিচয় দিয়াছেন, কেবল বঙ্গদেশের নহে, অন্য দেশের সাহিত্যেও তাহা বিরল। বৈদিক যজ্ঞসমূহের উদ্দেশ্য ও অনুষ্ঠানপদ্ধতি যে এমন সরল ভাষায় ব্যক্ত করা যায় তাহা আমি স্থানেই জানিতাম না।" Paṇḍit Mokṣadā Charaṇa Sāmādhyaī, a great scholar, wrote a book on the Vedic literature "वेद-परिचय" by name which appeared in the Bengali language. In the preface of the book, the great scholar says about the Vedas—"अनेकैरद धारणा वेद एकमात्र हिन्दुर मूल ओ आदि धर्मधन्य। आमरा देखाइव शुधु हिन्दुर नहे—समग्र मानव जातिर। अतएव वेदेर प्रतिपाद्य विषय एवं ताहार आदेश ओ उपदेश मानव मात्रैरद जाना कर्त्तव्य।" "वेद संहिता" (Selections from Ṛig and other Vedas—Original text, Bengali translation and Bengali glosses) was edited in "हिन्दु शास्त्र", Part I—by Paṇḍit Satyavrata Sāmaśramī, Romeś Chandra Dutt and others. Calcutta, 1300 B.S. "वेद संहिता" (Parts I & II—Metrical translation in Bengali language of selected hymns with Bengali comments) was published by Madhu Sūdan Sarcāra (an inhabitant of Ilubāra in the district of Barisal in East Bengal, a Kāyastha by caste), Calcutta, 1309 & 1314 B. S. "वेदवाणी" (A book of selections of the Vedic hymns rendered into Bengali Poetry, with introduction of the Vedas and the Vedic literatures, characteristics of the deities), the prose portion was written by Chāru Chandra Bandyopādhyāya, the poetry by Fyārī Mohan Sen Gupta, Calcutta, 1330 B.S. The selections resemble chiefly A. A. Macdonell's *Hymns from the Ṛigveda*, Peter Peterson's *Hymns from the Ṛigveda*, Von B. Delbrück's *Vedische Chrestomathie*, Von Alfred Hillebrandt's *Veda Chrestomathie*, Von Theodor Benfey's *Chrestomathie aus Sanskritwerken*, Von Karl F. Geldner's *Der Ṛigveda in Auswahl*.

Now, a few words about the European interpreters of the Veda. The mode and method of European interpretations are chiefly based on the *Philological criticism and with the modern resources of linguistic science*. (The foundation of the science of Comparative Philology was laid by the first publication of Franz Bopp's *Comparative*

Grammar in 1848 A.D.). "Germans of today", speaks Dr. Winternitz, "are the undisputed leaders in all fields of philology and linguistic science. In the field of Indian philology and in the research of Indian literature, too, the Germans have been the leaders and pioneers." ¹ The philological investigation, however, commenced in the year 1838. Really speaking, the study of the Vedas in Europe was first started at the instance of the Great French Orientalist Eugène Burnouf who was a Professor of Sanskrit in the Collège de France in the early forties of the 19th century. He gathered around him a band of pupils who became specialists in Vedic studies. One of the pupils of Burnouf was Rudolf Roth, who at first originated the study of the Vedas in Germany by his famous book—*Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda* (on the literature and history of the Veda) which was published in 1846. Not only he is to be remembered by it but also his memory will be enshrined in all ages and in all times to come by virtue of his compilation of the Great St. Petersburg Dictionary in collaboration with Otto Böehtlingk (*Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* O. Böehtlingk und R. Roth, 7 Bde., St. Petersburg, 1855-1875) in the history of Sanskrit research. Indeed, it is a brilliant monument to German industry, a diligent patience and perseverance. Roth is of opinion that, with philological criticism and with the modern resources of linguistic science, the interpretations of the Veda can be carried out without depending upon the native interpreters. Among his followers, H. Grassmann is one. He translated the whole R̥igveda in verse in German language (Leipzig, 1876-1877, I-II Vols.). Most of the Vedic interpreters have taken *via media*. A band of Vedic Scholars admitted that they did not blindly follow the Indian interpreters to the syllable in the matter of interpretation, but partly accepted them because of their uninterrupted traditions and approved the theory as propounded by Roth, echoing that they were no inferior and unacquainted with Indian atmosphere and culture. Alfred Lüdwig is one of those interpreters who translated the whole R̥igveda in prose in German language (Prag, 1876-1893 in 6 Vols., introduction, commentary, index) to which was added a comprehensive and most valuable commentary for the first time, utilising the explanations, as given by Sāyana, without altering or cancelling other helps to interpretation. He is a guide of R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner who are the author of *Vedische Studien*.² They have rendered

¹ Vide Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, Cal., 1927, p. 8.

² Stuttgart, 1889-1901, 3 Vols. Other important contributions to the interpretation of the R̥igveda are : Geldner—*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 71, 1917, 315 ff.; M. Bloomfield, *JAS*, 27, 1906, 72 ff.; A. B. Keith—*JRAS*, 1910, 921 ff.;

incalculable services in clearing up many difficult and obscure passages of the *Rigveda*. In their opinion, "The *Rigveda* must, above all, be interpreted as a production of the *Indian* mind, to the right understanding of which the Indian literature of later periods provides the best key." Dr. M. Winternitz's opinion lies midway. Of the English scholars, Prof. H. H. Wilson first published a complete English translation of the *Rigveda*, solely depending upon Sāyaṇa's commentary (1850-1857) which, in his opinion, rests on reliable tradition. "As his (Sāyaṇa's) commentary constantly referred to ancient authorities, it was thought to have preserved the true meaning of the *Rigveda* in a traditional interpretation going back to the most ancient times. Nothing further seemed to be necessary than to ascertain the explanation of the original text which prevailed in India five centuries ago, and is laid down in Sāyaṇa's work." ² H. H. Wilson (Englishman) was the first Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford. Others are of opinion that the interpretation of the Veda should be based on *Historical Method*. The Western scholars, also, believe that the interpretation of the Vedic mantras is done by way of comparative study of the religion, the languages of Persia, Egypt and other countries. Thus, following the above view, they are inclined to interpret the Veda in a likewise manner. Otto Böehtlingk, F. Max Müller, Christian Lassen (a pupil of A. Wilh. V. Schlegel who tried to collect together the whole of the contemporary knowledge about India in his *Indische Alterthumskunde* (1843-1862), Bopp, Grassmann, Lüdwig, Böethlingk, Roth, Max Müller, Wackernagel, Dutoit, Humboldt, Pischel, Goldstücker, Liebich, Bartholomae, Caland, Sten Konow, Bühler, Thibaut, Zimmer, Windisch, Hirt, Feist, Scherman, Schroeder, Hillebrandt, Jacobi, Delbrück, Lüders, Aufrecht, Lindner, Kirfel, Arbman, Fick, Benfey, Haug, Weeker, Zachariae, Kielhorn, Hörn, Holtzmann, Adelung, Baumgartner, Speijer, Brüggemann, Schlegel, Languinai, Lassen, Galanos, Fauche, Lorinser, Hartmann, Garbe, Deussen, Schrader, Michalsky, Winternitz, Glasenapp, Oldenberg, Geldner, Kaegi, Weber, Lanmann, Macdonell, Wilson, Muir, Bloomfield, Griffith, Whitney, Chezy, Bournouf, Bergaigne, Sylvain Levi, etc., etc., commented on the *Rgveda* in German, English and French languages. They have failed in explaining the difficult portions of the *Rigveda*, still their patience and perseverance in the matter of investigation

Muir—*The Interpretations of the Veda*, JRAS, 1866; *Vedic Interpretation & tradition*—By Vidhusēkhara Bhattachāryya. *Viśvabhāratī Studies*, Birbhūm; *History of Vedic Literature*—By Bhagwat Datta, Vol. I, Part II; the *Pre-Sāyaṇa commentators on the Vedas*.

² Vide, A. A. Macdonell's *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 59-60, London, 1913.

of the Vedas are worthy of being eulogised in the realm of Sanskrit research—"यद्यपि ते दुरुहशब्दभूयिष्ठवेदानां व्याख्याविधौ बहुषु स्थलेषु अक्षतार्था अभवन्, तथापि तेषामतीव अध्वसायोऽस्मान् सुग्रीकरोतीति वक्तुं युज्यते। धन्याः खलु ते जगति वरिण्याः।" John Muir is to be praised for his well-known book—"Original Sanskrit Texts on the Origin and Progress of the Religion and institutes of India, collected, translated into English and illustrated with notes." For the study of the Veda and its interpretations thereof, *Comparative Philology* as well as *Avesta* are essentially needed for observing the growth, structure, similarity, and development of the respective languages.²

परिचिति *

(अनुष्ठान-प्रतिष्ठाने)

कलिकातार विद्यालये, महाविद्यालये शिक्षा--साहित्यिक जीवन--प्रथम रचना—"मगर सुलुक्," "भारतवर्ष," फाल्गुन, १३२६—तत्पर क्रमान्वये विभिन्न सामयिक पत्रे—"The Hare School Magazine", "प्रवासी," "The Epiphany," "Advance," "विश्वकोष," "विद्यासागर कलेज पत्रिका," (काव्य सम्पादक, संस्कृत विभाग), "Forward," "Amrita Bāzār Patrikā," "संस्कृत-साहित्य-परिषत्-पत्रिका," "The Calcutta Oriental Journal," "रूप-श्री," "कायस्थ-समाज"(मासिक)—प्रतिष्ठाने—सभ्य, ऐ परिषत्—सभ्य, "वङ्गीय-साहित्य-

¹ The sacred books of the ancient Zoroastrian religion and of the modified form of it which still survives among the Parsis of Persia and India called also *Zend-Avesta*. The *Avesta* consists of four chief divisions, or groups of texts, all more or less fragmentary and varying in antiquity. These are: the *Yasna*, which is the chief liturgical work and includes the *Gathas* or hymns ascribed to Zoroaster himself, forming thus the oldest portion of the *Avesta*; the *Vispered*, a supplementary ritual; the *Yashts*, which are hymns to angels or lesser divinities; the *Vendidad*, which contains the account of creation, historical and homiletic matter. There are also minor divisions, including hymns, praises, prayers, etc. (Vide Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, London, 1924, p. 159, col. 3, Vol. I).

² Adopted from Vedic Researches—*The Exegesis of the Veda: Ancient and Modern*, a portion. The former portions were published in "Kāśīpur Nivāsi", Barīśāl, Bengal, Vol. LXXI, Nos. 34-37, 45-48, 1353 B. S., Do., Do., Vol. LXXII, Nos. 1-4, 1354 B. S. The rest, excluding the present one, is in the ms.

इति वाक्तरगञ्जनगराधीनरामचन्द्रपुरग्रामवासिकाश्यपगोवसम्भूतकाश्यकुलमीत्तिकस्यवरिशालपुर्यामधर्माधिकरणस्यव्यवहारराजप्रख्यातभूखानिधार्मिकप्रवरसदयहृदयोन्नतमनःस्वरूपचन्द्रगुहचतुर्धुरीणस्यपुत्रस्यअश्वशालज्ञानसम्पन्नप्राच्यप्रतीचनानामाषादिशारदप्रकटशब्दतत्त्ववित्प्रवक्तृप्रकटकलिकातास्थीचधर्माधिकरणस्यव्यवहारामित्रस्यएम्-एवि-एलइत्यपाधिमन्डितपितृगुणसमन्वितस्वश्रीमदश्विनाशचन्द्रगुहचतुर्धुरीणस्यतनयश्रीविजेन्द्रनाथगुहचतुर्धुरीणस्य आलोभाषायां निबन्धोऽयम्।

वरिशालपत्तनस्यस्वरूपचन्द्रगुहरोड् नाम विशिखायाम्

अवस्थितायाम् "स्वरूपवापुर वासा" इत्यभिधेया उपकारिका।

* सन्ध्याकरनन्दिनाविरचितम् रामचरितम्, पन्नाथि १०-२, प्रथम संस्करण, १३४४, कलिकाता।

परिषत्,” सभ्य, “वङ्गीय कायस्थ-समाज”, सदस्य, परिचालन-समिति, वङ्गज, ऐ समाज—“साधना” सङ्कलन ग्रन्थे साहाय्य प्रदान—“कवितावली”र कविता उद्धार कार्ये सहायता—सभ्य, “Students’ Rammohan Ray Centenary”, Calcutta—१८३६ ख्रीष्टाब्दे डिसेम्बर मासे वरिशाल गमन एवं वसवासकरण—१८३७ख्रीष्टाब्दे ५३ मे तारिखे “वरिशाल पाब्लिक लाइब्रेरी”र कार्यकारी समितिर अधिवेशने सभ्य निर्वाचित—१८३८ ख्रीष्टाब्दे २८शे जुलाइ रामचन्द्रपुर ग्रामे “स्वरूपचन्द्र गुहचौधुरी दातव्य चिकित्सालयेर” शुभ उद्घोषने इंराजी भाषाय लिखित अभिभाषण (पुस्तिका) पाठ—सभापति, “कलेज रो प्राइमारी इन्स्टिटुसन”—सभापति, “सत्सङ्गेर प्रतिष्ठाता श्रीश्रीठाकुर अनुकूलचन्द्रे ५५तम जन्ममहोत्सव”—सभापति, पुरस्कार वितरणी सभा, “दि वरिशाल एम्, इ, स्कूल”—१८४३ ख्रीष्टाब्दे २रा नभेम्बर रेजिष्टर्ड डाकयोगे Kāvyaavinoda, Sāhityaratnākara M. Krishnamāchārīār, M.A., M.L., Ph.D., M.R.A.S.’s “History of Classical Sanskrit Literature”—Suggestions of additions and amendments (being a typed copy sent in 7 sheets of paper closed) माद्राजे ग्रन्थकारेर निकटे प्रेरित—सभापति ओ घृष्टपोषक “Homeopathic Charitable Dispensary”—१८४४ ख्रीष्टाब्दे ७इ जानुयारी P.W.A. (D)^४, A.R.P.,—The Medical Sub-Committeeर सभार अधिवेशने युग्म-कर्मसचिव निर्वाचिन—“टाउन फुड् कमिटिर सभ्य निर्वाचित (१८४४ ख्रीष्टाब्दे फेब्रुवारी मासे)—सभ्य, कार्यनिर्वाहक समिति एवं युग्म-कर्मसचिव, “वाकरगञ्ज भूम्यधिकारी सभा”—१८४४ ख्रीष्टाब्दे २७शे फेब्रुवारी “महत्ता फुड् कमिटि” (Post Warden Area D^४, A.R.P.)र सभापति पदे निर्वाचित—सदस्य, कार्ये निर्वाहक समिति, “जगदीश सारस्वत वालिका विद्यालय”—सभ्य, ऐ, “धर्मरक्षिणी सभा”—सभापति, “स्वरूपचन्द्र गुह रोड् डिफेन्स् पार्टी”—१८४४ ख्रीष्टाब्दे ३रा मार्च् “Bākarganj Tuberculosis Association” एर वात्सरिक साधारण सभार अधिवेशने सह-कर्मसचिव निर्वाचित (१८४३-४४)—१८४४ ख्रीष्टाब्दे १३इ मार्च् “The St. John Ambulance Association” एर नवम वात्सरिक साधारण सभार अधिवेशने अवैतनिक युग्म-सह कर्मसचिव निर्वाचित (१८४३-४४)—“अविनाशचन्द्र गुहचौधुरी सहोदय ६८ वर्सर पूर्ण करत ८इ चैत्र, १३५० साले ७० वत्सरे पदार्पण करिले तदुपलक्ष्ये ये विराट सभा आहूत हय, सेइ सभाय ताँहार विषये इंराजीते अभिभाषण प्रदान” (प्रकाशन—“वरिशाल हितैषी”, १०-२१, २५श संख्या, १८४४, ५३ भाग)—सह-सभापति, “टाउन् क्लाव” (फुटवल क्लाव, १८४३-४४)—सभापति, “टाउन् क्लाव” (ऐ क्लाव, १८४४-४५)—कमिशनार,

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“ *Amhi Jato Amucha Ganva,
Amucha Ram Ram Ghyavha.* ”

WORDSWORTH UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF COLERIDGE

DR. P. S. SASTRI, M.A., M.LITT., PH.D.
University of Saugor, Saugor (M.P.)

The best period of Wordsworth's poetic career has been placed between 1797 and 1807 by Garrod. Myers and Raleigh extend it up to 1814. All are agreed in tracing a general decline in his poetic career after 1814. They consider the pre- 1797 period as the formative one leading to the great period. The poet himself said in 1802, to be more precise on the 26th March, 1802. "The child is father of the Man." He felt his life to be one continuous whole, one long development of natural piety.

They are 20 poems included under the section "Poems referring to the period of Childhood". They were begun in 1798 and by 1806 we have 14 of these. The year when he began the Immortality Ode, 1802, marks the crisis brought about by reflection. In 1843 Wordsworth said : "No change has taken place in my manner for the last 45 years". But while referring to the pre- 1797 period he observes in The Prelude :

" So wide appears
The vacancy between me and those days
Which yet have such self-presence in my mind,
That, musing on them, often do I seem
Two Consciousnesses, conscious of myself
And of some other thing."

This is a profound statement to the effect that his life after 1797 is not a natural development of his earlier life. This contradicts what he has said in his lines on The Rainbow. How can we explain these two statements ?

Let us proceed with the main incidents of his life. Born in 1770, he lost his mother at the age of eight, and at thirteen his father. And Dorothy remarks : "Many a time have William, John, Christopher, and myself shed tears together of the bitterest sorrow. We have no father to protect, and no mother to guide us". The poet himself observes that their mother left her children having faith "that He

Who fills the mother's breast with innocent milk,
Doth also for our nobler part provide". (5. 271-273).

Then he had to endure a humiliating existence under the roof of stern and narrow-minded grand-parents. He was arbitrarily deprived of his inheritance. He was not only indolent and obstinate, but 'stiff, moody, and violent'. At Cambridge during 1787 and 1791, he took no interest in the intellectual and social life of the University; on the other hand he grew positively weary of the student's life and began to live more or less by himself. After leaving the University, with an uneasy mind regarding the future, he was in London 'pitching a vagrant tent among the unfenced regions of society'. Then there was the Annette-incident. On the eve of the Revolution of 1790, he landed in Calais, gradually espoused the cause of the Revolution, and till 1796 or 1797, he was viewed at home as a political suspect. In 1805 his brother died, followed by the deaths of his children in 1812 and 1816. There was the beginning of the estrangement from Coleridge towards the close of 1806. By 1832, Dorothy and Coleridge were seriously ill. Two years later Coleridge and Lamb died, followed by Sarah Hutchinson in 1836. His life was a series of disappointments and mental worries. He was consciously trying his best to be happy, to overcome this real personal suffering. As Hazlitt observes, his optimism "may be regarded as the effect of disappointed views and an inverted ambition", for he was "the spoiled child of disappointment". After the Revolution failed in its purpose, says Wordsworth, he "strove to hide, what nought could heal, the wounds of mortified presumption" (ll. 215-16). He deliberately endeavoured to feel happy in the face of suffering.

This aspect of Wordsworth's personality is remarkable and it is the under-current in his poetic career. It is apparent throughout his life and it is for a brief period during 1797 and 1806 that we hear a new strain that is alien to him. This new strain is the contribution of Coleridge. Wordsworth went up to Cambridge as a youth who delighted in the face of Nature in having "animal movements" of his body. In later life he told Lady Richardson that "after he has finished his college course" he was conscious of a struggle between his conscience and his impulses, which made it impossible for him to enter the church. Again consider his statement: "Had I been a writer of love-poetry, it would have been natural to me to write it with a degree of warmth which could hardly have been approved by my principles, and which might have been undesirable for the reader". Dorothy speaks of the "vehemence of his affections". Aubrey de Vere says: "Referring once to two young children of his who had died about 40 years previously, he described the details of their illness with an exactness and an impetuosity of troubled excitement such as might

have been expected if the bereavement had taken place but a few weeks before. The lapse of time seemed to have left the sorrow submerged indeed, but still in all its first freshness". Such was the nature of Wordsworth. The characteristic calm and tranquillity of his poems was more the ideal he was struggling to realise.

This struggle manifested in two ways. The first is contained in a note dictated to Miss Fenwick on a couplet from "An Evening Walk":

"And fronting the bright west, yon oak entwines
Its darkening boughs and leaves in stronger lines".

On this couplet he said: "This is feebly and imperfectly expressed, but I recollect distinctly the very spot where this first struck me The moment was important in my poetical history, for I date from it my consciousness of the infinite variety of natural appearances which had been unnoticed by the poets of any age or country, in so far as I was acquainted with them, and I made a resolution to supply in some degree the deficiency". Here we find a conscious attempt in the selection of his experiences to suit a preconceived plan, a plan intended to divert him from his pre-occupations with himself.

The second is contained in the famous and much-abused sentence of his: "I want myself to be considered a teacher or nothing". In a letter to Lady Beaumont he wrote: "There is scarcely one of my poems which does not aim to direct the attention to some moral sentiment, or to some general principle or law of thought, of our intellectual constitution". Even in 1807, he wrote to the same Lady: "To be incapable of a feeling of Poetry, in my sense of the word, is to be without love of human nature and reverence for God". The destiny of his poems is, he continues, "to console the afflicted; to add sunshine to daylight, by making the happy happier; to teach the young and the gracious of every age to see, to think, and feel, and, therefore, to become more actively and securely virtuous; this is their office, which I trust they will faithfully perform". From the vocation of a Poet he intended to become a moralist, for his sensibility has landed him into deep personal suffering and despondency.

Coleridge considered Wordsworth a hypochondriac, who was happy, not because of his temperament, but in spite of it. He had to leave Wordsworth in the middle of their tour of 1803, in Scotland because of Wordsworth's hypochondriacal disposition, which "rendered him an unsuitable travelling companion for one who was himself ailing". In a letter to Richard Sharp (15th January, 1804), Coleridge observes: "In spite of Wordsworth's occasional fits of hypochondriacal uncom-

fortableness—from which, more or less, and at longer or shorter intervals, he has never been wholly free from his very childhood—in spite of this hypochondriacal graft his is the happiest family I ever saw”. Coleridge proceeds to say that “ Wordsworth does not excite that almost painfully profound moral admiration, which the sense of the exceeding difficulty of a given virtue can alone call forth He both deserves to be and is a happy man; and a happy man not from natural temperament, for therein lies his main obstacle, not by enjoyment of the good things of the world—for even to this day, from the first dawn of his manhood, he has purchased independence, and leisure for greatly good pursuits, by austere frugality and daily self-denials; . . . but he is a happy man because he is a Philosopher ”. Thus according to Coleridge, his friend’s optimism and happiness were the result of a deliberate choice, of a conscious action of the will. As a result he had to endure a profound mental conflict that gave rise to poems like “ The Fountain ” (1799) and “ Laodamia ” (1814)—poems that are full of deeper and sadder pathos than the work of real pessimists. He took up his subject-matter not freely, but to suit his preconceived theories. He tried to have no interest for

“ the dead strife

Of poor humanity’s afflicted will,

Struggling in vain with ruthless destiny ”.

He was attempting to be indifferent to suffering because he has failed to solve its mystery, failed to explain it. These attempts landed him in a new epoch that lasted just for a decade. And this decade does not fit in with the rest of his poetic career. And this was the decade when Coleridge spoke through him.

The “ Lines left upon a Seat in a Yew-tree ” was begun in 1787, completed by 1795, and published in 1798. The whole vision of human love and joy is felt here as an empty nothing. The ‘ gloomy boughs ’ have ‘ nourished ’ him with ‘ a morbid pleasure, tracing here an emblem of his own unfruitful love ’. On seeing Miss Helen Maria Williams in 1787, weep at a tale of distress, his ‘ full heart was swelled to dear delicious pain ’. And morbidity is the prevailing note of “ The Vale of Esthwaite ”, composed in the early summer of 1787. In “ The Recluse ” he has referred to

“ such damp and gloom

Of the gay mind as oft splenetic youth

Mistakes for sorrow ”.

Elsewhere he speaks of this ‘ sweet and tender melancholy ’. “ The Vale of Esthwaite ” expresses those ‘ dumb yearnings ’ and

'hidden appetites'. To Miss Fenwick he said in 1843, that the thoughts and images of this poem are dispersed among his later writings. In 1789, there appeared 14 plaintive sonnets of William Bowles; and Wordsworth was attracted to the thought and outlook of Bowles through Gray, Collins, and Beattie. The last of these proclaimed the identity of poetry and melancholy. Only after 1798 did Wordsworth speak of the identity of poetry and joy. At this time he was contemplating on the theme of the "Borderers". "An Evening Walk", composed in 1788-89, is full of wistful melancholy. 'The moaning owl' that 'sobs long and tremulous to the moon'—of "The Vale of Esthwaite"—has become here 'the tremulous sob of the complaining owl'. In 1836, Wordsworth changed it into 'the sportive out-cry of the mocking owl'. It is not the owl's hooting that has changed; but the Poet has assumed a change of tone. "The Descriptive Sketches" composed in 1791-92, are said to embody the impressions of his Swiss tour. During the tour he wrote to his sister: "Among the awful scenes of the Alps, I had not a thought of man, or of a single created being; my whole soul was turned to Him who produced the terrible majesty before me". He believed like the Churchmen of old that God created Nature. In "The Prelude" the period of the tour has been called 'a glorious time, a happy time' (6. 754). He informed his sister that 'his spirits have been in a perpetual hurry of delight'. But in the poem proper despair is too deep (1. 44); and then

—Alas! in every clime a flying ray
Is all that we have to cheer our wintry way,
Condemned, in mists and tempests ever rife,
To pant slow up the endless Alp of life". (11. 590-93).

The joy and the spiritual experience he spoke of in "The Prelude" have come in a devious fashion long after the tour.

About August, 1793, he passed through Salisbury Plain and Tintern, and as he confessed to Miss Fenwick, that "ramble over Salisbury Plain put him upon writing 'Guilt and Sorrow', and left upon his mind imaginative impressions the force of which he has felt to that day". This poem is full of horror and suffering. In 1842 at the time of publishing it he wanted to tone it down, as he was no longer actuated by a desire "to expose the vices of penal law, and the calamities of war as they affect individuals". This was his original intention and the whole poem as we have it is a morbid attack upon the social order. It proceeds on the conception that 'sin and crime are apt to spring from their very opposite qualities'. This view has found expression in his Sonnets on the Punishment of Death, composed in 1839-40.

"The Borderers" was composed in 1795-96. The atmosphere of the play is bleak. The setting is desolate. Oswald urges Marmaduke to execute a criminal sort of justice, for he observes :

" it is
In darkness and in tempest that we seek
The majesty of Him who rules the world ". (2. 614).

This is in line with the Sonnets on Death Penalty. Marmaduke aimed at casting the responsibility for 'justice' on God, leaving the death of the old man to Providence. Oswald's soliloquies on passion and proof, instinct and reason, finally preferring passion or self-expression, are significant. Marmaduke, like the Poet, was placed between the dark satanic promptings and the reverence for helpless age. His agony moves around the ideas of justice and personal action. This world is dominated by suffering. Like the Poet, Oswald meditates on the human mind. The Poet here yields up all 'moral questions in despair'.

Thus the thought and outlook of the poet in this period is one of mental anguish, personal despondency, loss of faith in reason, and a deep fatalism at the way in which God's creation moves. This ideology appears once again after 1807. "The White Doe of Rylstone" was composed in 1807-08. Grief and anguish do their worst on a single devoted soul. All save Emily are victims of an inexorable fate. The poet now is not able to cope with despair. Like the poet, Emily too is "sustained by memory of the past". "Laodamia", composed in 1814, widens the gulf between the earthly beings and the Olympian gods. Inaction is the ruling principle; and as Hazlitt remarked, "it is a poem that might be read aloud in Elysium, and the spirits of the departed heroes and sages would gather round to listen to it". It is in this period that the poet calls hope

"The paramount duty that heaven lays
For its own honour on man's suffering heart".

"The Evening Voluntaries", composed in 1818, reveal the theistic position of the "Descriptive Sketches". "The Thanksgiving Ode" of 1816 busies itself with a parochial outlook, the outlook he had as a boy when he used to kill all butterflies because they were Frenchmen.

The River Duddon poems of 1820 conclude with an explicit reference to human life, its transience, its eternal meaning, and ever-fleeting indestructibility . . . the thought of his Ecclesiastical Sonnets.

The Memorials of a tour of the continent (1820) speak of the conflict between time and eternity. And as a consequence.

“ Amid this dance of objects sadness steals
O'er the defrauded heart ”.

Repudiating the thought of Coleridge, he revives the outlook of “ Guilt and Sorrow ” and of “ The Borderers ”. “ The Ecclesiastical Sonnets ” of 1821 have an under-current of pathos. They are a poor blend of “ The Religious Musings ” and “ The Destiny of the Nations ”. The Italian tour of 1837, has given poems emphasising the ecclesiastical art. Oswald asserts himself in the Sonnets on the Punishment of Death, composed in 1839-40. What Marmaduke did at a critical moment of his life is here glorified.

In “ The Excursion ”, finished in 1814, he was consciously aiming at a harmony between his personal despondency and spiritual happiness that was pointed to him by Coleridge. The Solitary, the true successor of Oswald, is a man of troubled history, disillusionment and bitterness. “ The Wanderer ” is optimistic in spite of his temperament. Most of the Sonnets on National Liberty and Order originated in sorrow, suffering, and despondency. The Odes from 1814 to 1816, celebrate the triumph of Justice in the manner of the Borderers. There was, therefore a continuity between the pre- 1797 Wordsworth and the post- 1807 Wordsworth. And it is this continuity in thought and outlook that has been pointed out by the Poet many a time. And truly the celebrated line,

“ The child is father of the man ”

is absolutely correct with reference to Wordsworth provided we can explain the period between 1797 and 1806. And this period introduces us to a new epoch, brought forth by Coleridge.

II

The starting point of Wordsworth's poetry was his own experience based on the senses, the eye and the ear. He held that Nature speaks to that in us which is most *natural*, viz., the senses. In Tintern he observes “ Nature then (*i.e.*, in 1793) to me was all in all ”. The feeling for Nature had no need of ‘ any interest unborrowed from the eye ’ (1.82). “ The bodily eye ” is said to be “ the most despotic of our senses ” that “ gained ” “ absolute dominion ” (Prel. 12. 127-31). He “ roamed from hill to hill ”, “ from rock to rock, still craving ” all the while “ wider empire for the sight ”, with the result that he “ rejoiced to lay the inner faculties asleep ” (12. 142-47). His eye had

been " the mistress of his heart " (12. 154), while he was " insensible " to " the affections and the spirit of the place " (12. 119-21). And it was after 1793 and by 1798 that he learned

" To look on Nature, not as in the hour
Of thoughtless youth; but hearing often times
The still sad music of humanity,
Nor harsh nor grating, though of ample power
To chasten and subdue. And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man :
A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things ".

Till 1796 he was busy with moral questions and then yielded them up in despair. Once again the Eye and the Ear have drawn him to Nature, drawn him now to the presence of the Spirit in Nature; while affections have opened the universal heart. These changes came in 1797. By 1802 he began complaining that this " visionary gleam ", " this glory and the dream " are disappearing. And in 1818 he was " fruitlessly deploring " the loss of this vision. The loss began after 1805 with his invocation to " Duty " and it was complete after 1806. These changes have been brought forth by Dorothy and Coleridge.

Wordsworth met Coleridge in the autumn of 1795, by which time the latter and Southey were considered to be apostles by their followers, and to be dangerous Jacobins by the Tories. In a letter to Matthews, Wordsworth called them " two extraordinary youths ". Coleridge came to Nether Stowey by the beginning of 1797 to be nearer his friend Thomas Poole. Wordsworth too moved nearer by the summer of 1797. The feeling of a Miltonic message was induced in him by Coleridge. In the company of the latter Wordsworth felt that he was emerging from error into truth, from despondency into hopefulness. Slowly but surely he imbibed his friend's philosophy, and began to believe in the restorative power of Nature and in the essential goodness of the human heart. In March, 1798, he planned his great Philosophic Poem. His best work was written between 1797 and 1806 at Alfoxden in the neighbourhood of Nether Stowey where Coleridge lived; in Germany in the company of Coleridge; at Grasmere, where

he was frequently visited by Coleridge; in Scotland which he visited with his friend in 1803. Coleridge's influence was deep and profound during this decade, though traces of it appear later too.

A glance at Coleridge's poetic output before he met Wordsworth is necessary for understanding the relations between these two. Even before his 15th-year, says Coleridge, he bewildered himself in Metaphysics and Theological controversies. At 17 he was a Neo-Platonist. At Cambridge he came under the diverse influences of the Neo-Platonists and Hartley, who advocated the mechanical association of ideas. Hartley's system was the logical culmination of Locke's empiricism. The first part of Hartley's work is a scientific theory destroying the intellectual foundations of the higher experiences. In the second part Hartley reveals himself as a staunch supporter of the revealed religion. This conflict was in the mind of Coleridge too till 1796 September, when he named his son after Hartley. But in his "Religious Musings" (written on the Christmas Eve of 1794), he denounced those who cheat themselves

" With noisy emptiness of learned phrase,
Their subtle fluids, impacy, essence,
Untenanted creation of its God".

These words are applicable to Hartley's system. By 1798 May he became a fervent follower of Berkeley's Spiritual Realism and his second son, accordingly, was Berkeley. But third son, born in 1800, was named Derwent. The letters of Coleridge reveal that from 1799 to 1800, he was in the footsteps of Spinoza. Then he fell back upon Plato and in 1801, he became a Kantian, and swiftly came under the influence of Schelling. Once again he turned to Plato and by 1814, he settled down to define his Philosophy.

In the summer of 1797, when Wordsworth met him at Nether Stowey, he was engaged in writing "a book on Morals in answer to Godwin". At this time Wordsworth needed such an answer, for Godwinian theory made him yield up all moral questions in despair. Moreover from his Cambridge days onwards, when he came under the influence of the Unitarian Priestley, it was Coleridge's desire and ambition to fuse together religion and philosophy.

Coleridge composed his "The Eolian Harp" in 1795, describing how a lute vibrated in response to every wind. Even so, the poet says, is the Universe in harmony. And it is impossible "not to love all things in a world so filled". Gradually he repels this human pride and comes out with a humble faith and reverential adoration of the Incom-

prehensible. "One Life" is felt informing "all motion" with "a light in sound, a sound-like power in light", and "rhythm in all thought and joyance everywhere" (ll. 26-29).

"And what if all of animated nature
Be but organic Harps diversely framed
That tremble into thought, as over them sweeps
Plastic and vast, one intellectual breeze,
At once the soul of each, and God of all?" (ll. 49-53).

This idea of the animated Nature, of Nature as enlivened by the Spirit, slowly took deep root in Wordsworth.

Coleridge's "Religious Musings", composed in the Christmas Eve of 1794, and published in 1796, has the most valuable influence on Wordsworth. The Musings were a hymn to God conceived as Love, and God is said to be "Nature's essence, mind, and energy". The poet maintains that "God (is) all in all! We and our Father (are) one":—

"There is one Mind, one omnipresent Mind,
Omnific. His most holy name is Love". (ll. 105-06).
"It is the sublime of man,
Our noontide majesty, to know ourselves
Parts and proportions of one wondrous whole!
This fraternises man, this constitutes
Our charities and bearings. But 'tis God
Diffused through all, that doth make all one whole". (ll. 126-31).

God alone is real; and Evil, which has baffled Wordsworth to misanthropy, is a transient appearance. He who knows this loves all creation, "and blesses it, and calls it good". All evil serves to build up the Good (ll. 194-97). The same logic points out that the sensual wants "unsensualise the mind" (ll. 209-10). But one can realise happiness only in a world of pure Intelligence, pure Faith, and meek Piety (l. 323). Earthly life is a vision, and that vision is the shadow of truth (l. 396). In a footnote to this last paragraph the poet observes that "this paragraph is intelligible to those, who, like the author, believe and feel the sublime system of Berkeley; and the doctrine of the final happiness of all men".

"The Destiny of Nations" is another great poem composed in 1796, before he knew Wordsworth. This poem presents all the convictions that he held throughout his life. It begins with a mystic adoration:—

" To the Will Absolute, the One, the Good !
 The I AM, the Word, the Life, the Living God ! "
 Then arises a Platonic image in terms of Berkeley's thought :
 " All that meets the bodily sense I deem
 Symbolical, one mighty alphabet
 For infant minds " .

We have to ' learn ' ' the substance from ' the ' shadow ' of Reality. The substance of all things is God or Infinite Love who can be apprehended through Love alone. Hence the poet has a contempt for all those who attempt to seek truth through reasoning. He was drawn, therefore, to Imagination which ' unsensualises the dark mind ' (79-87). Love, the poet continues, is the Law of the world, and God is the soul of the Universe. In the discovery of this truth, analysis and reasoning should be replaced by intuition. All visible things are symbols of Reality; all beings, including animals and flowers, are the ' Monads of the infinite Mind '. God or Spirit is the

" All-conscious Presence of the Universe !
 Nature's vast ever-acting Energy !
 In Will, indeed, Impulse of All to All ! " (ll. 460-62).

Referring to this poem, Coleridge wrote to Thelwall on May 13, 1796 : " a very dear friend of mine, who is, in my opinion, the best poet of the age, thinks that lines 364 to 375 and from 403 to 428 the best in the volume—indeed, worth all the rest. And this man is a republican, and, at least, a semi-atheist ". This " dear friend " was Wordsworth. And the comment is significant enough. In the first of these passages, there is a vision of the earth as regenerated by the return of Pure Faith and Meek Piety that have been victorious over Atheism. There is a vision of the daily joys of those who are in constant communion with God. The second passages describes the end of the world, when it is received into the bosom of Christ. The " semi-atheistic " Wordsworth was gradually being converted to the thought and outlook of his friend.

The " Ode to the Departing Year " was composed in December, 1796. Whatever life's varied problems might be, there remains the ultimate mystery and grandeur of " nature struggling in portentous birth ". His eye had been " fixed on Heaven's unchanging clime " as he listened " with inward stillness, and a bowed mind ". This was a time when Coleridge has not been introduced to the system of Kant or that of Spinoza to speak of an active mind. In June, 1797, he composed the fine little poem, " This Lime-Tree Bower My Prison ". He stands ' silent with swimming sense ' and gazes on the landscape till all seems

“ Less gross than bodily; and of such hues
 As veil the Almighty Spirit, when yet he makes
 Spirits perceive his presence ” (ll. 40-43).

A mysterious personality is felt within and beyond Nature. And ‘ henceforth ’, he says,

“ I shall know
 That Nature ne’er deserts the wise and pure ”.

This thought finds its best expression in Tintern where Wordsworth observes that “ Nature never did betray the heart that loved her ”.

III

It was under the influence of these thoughts and the wonderful author of these, that Wordsworth settled down at Racedown, as “ gleams of light

Flash often from the east, then disappear,
 And mock me with a sky that ripens not
 Into a steady morning ”.

Till now he was one with Beaupuy in attacking religion as the enemy of liberty and progress; attacking it in the name of reason. And now in 1797, he learnt from Coleridge to attack reason or the understanding in the name of religion. This is the thought of the “ Religious Musings ”. And Wordsworth has begun to compose lines like,

“ Sweet is the lore which Nature brings,
 Our meddling intellect
 Misshapes the beauteous forms of things,
 We murder to dissect ”.

These lines are from “ The Tables Turned ”, composed in 1798. What is required is only “ a heart that watches and receives ”. This is what Coleridge said in his “ Ode to the Departing Year ”, in 1796, where he listened “ with inward stillness and a bowed mind ”. Addressing Dorothy on “ The first Mild Day of March ” (1798), he says,

“ One moment now may give us more
 Than years of toiling reason ”.

And from that day he dates the opening year, for “ it is the hour of feeling ’, a feeling that relates man to Nature. In “ The Tables Turned ” (1798), he has said that “ one impulse from a vernal wood ” can “ teach more of man, of moral evil and of good ”. In “ Expostu-

lation and Reply " (1798), he pleads that without our seeking, everything will come out of itself

" There are powers
Which of themselves our minds impress,
That we can feed this mind of ours
In a wise passiveness."

In " The Poet's Epitaph " (1798), the poet is said to be " contended if he may enjoy the things that others understand "; while the moralist is one in whom self-absorption has killed the senses; he is one who " hath neither eyes nor ears ".

In his attitude to Nature too, Wordsworth came under the influence of his friend. Let us note the broad outline of his friend's conception. Even in 1820 in a poem addressed " To Nature " Coleridge speaks not only of joy in Nature, but he finds traces of " Love and Piety " in the leaves and flowers. " On observing a blossom on the 1st of February, 1796 ", he finds " dim similitudes weaving in moral strains ". In a poem addressed to a young man of Fortune (1796), he asks him to know " the truth " that " shall kindle his young mind ", namely, " what Nature makes thee mourn, she bids thee heal ". In " Frost at Midnight " (Feb. 1798) we read :

" So shalt thou see and hear
The lovely shapes and sounds intelligible
Of that eternal language, which thy God
Utters, who from eternity doth teach
Himself in all, and all things in himself."

And hence " in Nature there is nothing melancholy " (The Nightingale, 1798).

Wordsworth in his earlier days took human life to be an " accidental grace on an expansive and expressive landscape ". He subdued man to the level of Nature, and declared that the feelings developed in his poems " give importance to the action and situation ". Consequently " The Leechgatherer " on the moor and the " Woman stepping westward " are treated more as natural objects. They are treated in the way in which he approached the aged thorn and the lichened rock. Gradually he learned :

" how the mind becomes
A thousand times more beautiful than the earth
On which he dwells, above this frame of things
(Which, 'mid all revolution in the hopes
And fears of men, doth still remain unchanged)

In beauty exalted, as it is itself
Of quality and fabric more divine ”.

And so repeating Coleridge's idea, Wordsworth speaks that there is nothing in the world “ divorced from good ”, for everything is “ a spirit and pulse of good, a life and soul ” (Cumberland Beggar). In one of his letters he observes : “ What I should most value in my attempts is the spirituality with which I have endeavoured to invest in the material Universe, and the moral relations under which I have wished to exhibit its most ordinary appearances ”. This was the aim of Coleridge, and this was what he already did in his poems before he met Wordsworth. And now Wordsworth resolved to write henceforth of “ joy in the widest commonalty spread ”, or, if of sorrow, then only of

“ Sorrow that is not sorrow but delight
And miserable love that is not pain
To hear of, for the glory that redounds
Therefrom to human kind, and what we are ”.

He deliberately preferred this path and began training his senses in this light. Still the undercurrent of the poems of this decade (1798-1806) is one of pathos, one of self-despondency, which is the true trait of Wordsworth and which never deserted him. But now it was in abeyance only, peeping now and then in his lines.

IV

Coleridge during the decade (1797-1806) was very busy. His “ Ode to France ” (1798) speaks of Freedom in terms of Spiritual Experience, brushing aside the revolutionary materialism. This experience is one of realising the oneness with that Nature of Clouds and Waves which “ yield homage only to eternal laws ”. Even in 1794 itself, in a Sonnet on Burke, he spoke of “ the sainted form of Freedom ”. This is alien to the thought of Wordsworth. The poem, “ Fears in Solitude ” (April, 1798), speaks of the “ Sweet influences ” of Nature :

“ And he, with many feelings, many thoughts,
Made up a meditative joy, and found
Religious meanings in the forms of Nature : ” (ll. 22-24).

He achieves identity with his country and lapses into mysticism (ll. 182-97). The poem closes with solemn joy and reconciles the love of his country with the sense of duty. This thought was taken up by Wordsworth in his poems on National Independence and finally in his Ode to Duty and in the lines on The Happy Warrior.

The famous "Dejection: An Ode," composed in April, 1802, marks an important crisis in the life of Coleridge, and consequently in the life of Wordsworth. The real crisis came in 1800 and was full by 1801 when he became a Kantian. This poem is generally taken to be a reply to Wordsworth's "Resolution and Independence" (1802), where the poet offers a mood of "dim sadness" and of "blind thoughts", a meditation on the tragic destiny of man and of "mighty poets in their misery dead"; and the poet throughout is haunted by dejection, sad fears and fancies. Coleridge, on the other hand, asserts that the fountains of passion and life are within. The objective phenomena alone can never restore the lost contact. Man's mind is both Nature's 'wedding garment' and 'shroud'. The wedding gives "the spirit and the power" and realises "a new Earth and new Heaven". Nature and desire as well fail in the end; for only the creative faculty can succeed. The eternal glooms and ghostly presences of Wordsworth's are replaced by moral evil, while the raging activity replaces Wordsworth's awful quietude. He is keenly alive to the beauty of Nature, but his genial spirits droop and the beautiful objects cannot "lift the smothering weight from off his breast". The poem then rises into a higher note:

"O Lady, we receive but what we give,
And in our life alone does Nature live:
Ours is her wedding garment, ours her shroud!
Ah! from the soul itself must issue forth
A light, a glory, a fair luminous cloud
Enveloping the Earth
And from the soul itself must there be sent
A sweet and potent voice, of its own birth,
Of all sweet sounds the life and element!"

This 'light' is 'beautiful and beauty-making power'; and the 'joy' arising from this is given only 'to the pure, and in their purest hour'. "Nature gave him at his birth, his shaping spirit of Imagination", and the visitation of the 'afflictions' seem to 'suspend' it. The poem then closes with a note of joy, with an invocation to Spiritual Joy. All these thoughts of Joy arise from Imagination which is the source of all things and which is the guiding principle of the Universe. His "Hymn before Sunrise" (1802) represents the eternal aspect of life's ever-present force and activity. All these thoughts have found their best exposition and expression in the famous Immortality Ode.

V

Human conflicts and affections have a wider and more intimate poetic appeal in Coleridge. Mother, wife, child, all are sacred to him. In the lines "On the Christening of a Friend's Child" (1797), we read :

"Thy mother's name a potent spell,
That bids the virtues hie
From mystic grove and living cell,
Confess'd to Fancy's eye".

His "Mother Isle" is "a name most dear and holy" (Fears in Solitude). The mother is "the holiest thing alive" (The three Graves, 1798). He addresses the Duchess of Devonshire (1799) :

"You were a Mother! That most holy name,
Which Heaven and Nature bless!"

It was Coleridge that first felt the primary affections to be sacred and they took root later in Wordsworth.

Coleridge finds the 'very name of wife' "a promise and a mystery, a pledge of more than passing life" (The Happy Husband, 1802). And we read in "Love's Sanctuary" :

"This yearning heart (Love! witness what I say)
Enshrines thy form as purely as it may,
Round which, as to some spirit uttering bliss,
My thoughts all stand ministrant night and day
Like Saintly Priests, that dare not think amiss."

He is alive to the "innocent satiety" of the little child (Epitaph on an Infant, 1811). Even the bond of friendship is divine and so he spoke of his friendship with Wordsworth and his sister as "three persons but one soul".

In a Sonnet written in 1793, addressing the river Otter, he tells us that he has "visions of childhood" as he looks at it :

"Oft have Ye beguiled
Lone manhood's cares, yet waking fondest sighs :
Ah! that once more I were a careless child!"

In a poem addressed to a Young Lady (1794), he confesses, "much on my early youth I love to dwell". In the same year he speaks of the infant as the "opening bud", as "man's breathing miniature". On receiving a letter informing him of the birth of a son in 1796, he addressed God as the "Lover of Souls" and wished :

"Thy overshadowing Spirit may descend,
And he be born again, a child of God".

On the same occasion and in the same year he had the beautiful lines :

“ Oft o’er my brain does that strange fancy roll
Which makes the present (while the flash doth last)
Seem a mere semblance of some unknown past,
Mixed with such feelings, as perplex the soul
Self-questioned in her sleep; and some have said
We lived, are yet this robe of flesh we wore ”.

On this sonnet he remarked to Poole (1st Nov. 1796) : “ The first four lines express a feeling which I have often had—the present has appeared like a vivid dream or exact similitude of some past circumstances ”. Then he refers to the followers of Fenelon. Coleridge took it as a Platonic truth and his doctrine of reminiscence too was taken up as an article of faith. And on the same subject he wrote in the same year, that as he looked at the child :

“ I seemed to see an angel form appear
So for the mother’s sake the child was dear,
And dearer was the mother for the child ”.

Another interesting idea appears in his address to Rev. George Coleridge (26th May, 1797), where he admits that he is aware

“ Of that divine and nightly-whispering Voice,
Which from my childhood to maturer years
Spake to me of predestinated wreaths,
Bright with no fading colours !

Yet at times

My soul is sad, that I have roamed through life
Still most a stranger, most with naked heart
At mine own home and birth-place ”.

This world of ours, in other words, is our foster-nurse. These ideas have crept into the fifth, sixth, and seventh stanzas of the Immortality Ode. In April, 1799, he speaks of the child as a native “ of the kingdom of the Blesst possessor, not inheritor ”. He was to ‘ be ’ God, rather than a ‘ child of God ’ (On An Infant). The infant is :

“ The Angel of the Earth, who, while he guides
His chariot-planet round the goal of day,
All trembling gazes on the eye of God
A moment turned his awful face away ”.

(Ode to the Duchess of Devonshire, 1799).

This, in Wordsworth's hand came out as "apparelled in celestial light", and as "Heaven lies about us in our infancy". As he takes delight in little things, Coleridge finds "The buoyant child surviving in the man" (*The Blossoming of the Solitary Date Tree*, 1805). In the same year, in his poem, *Ad vilmum Axiologum*, he observes that

"Beings Eternal

Live and are born as an Infant; the Eternal begets the Immortal:

Love is the Spirit of Life, and Music the Life of the Spirit".

In a fragment of 1803, he notes that "the bright cloudes" "veil the finite form" and "reveal" "the boundless power":

"The body,

Eternal Shadow of the finite Soul,

The Soul's self-symbol, its image of itself,

Its own yet not itself".

And Wordsworth took up Plato through Coleridge the idea of the body as "the shades of the prison house". Another fragment of 1803, runs thus:

"Where'er I find the Good, the True, the Fair,

I ask no names—God's spirit dwelleth there!

The unfounded, undivided Three,

Each for itself, and all in each, to see

In man and Nature, is Philosophy".

This was the main aim of Coleridge, *viz.*, to realise a sort of unification between Religion, Poetry and Philosophy; and this he was able to achieve by 1814. Wordsworth because of the estrangement with Coleridge in 1806, could not proceed towards this synthesis, and so remained in his dualism.

Coleridge's attitude towards Life and Nature was governed by Love which he equated with the Spiritual Principle of the Universe. In his poetry of Love he laments at the loss of youthful love-magic; and this idea was transferred by Wordsworth to the passing away of the visions of childhood. This idea belonged to Coleridge even as early as 1793; The "Lines on an autumnal Evening" are full with this conception. And the same thought comes back in his "Love's Apparition and Evanishment" (1833), where he speaks of the loss of Hope, "Love's elder sister" and sees Love herself appear, now cold and unable to infuse life. In "The Picture or The Lover's Resolution" (1802), he observes: "The master-passion quelled, I feel that I am free". In 1805, in the "Blossoming of a Solitary Date Tree, he emphasises the pains and thwarted longings of too frigid, too loveless

an existence. In "The Improvisatore" (1827), he discusses the often-deplored loss of vision.

VI

Let us trace the development of Wordsworth's poetic thought in this light. "The Idiot Boy" (1798) was composed, says Wordsworth, to "trace the material passion through many of its more subtle windings". Likewise the poem "We are Seven" (1798) is said to show "the perplexity and obscurity which in childhood attend our notion of death, or rather our utter inability to admit that notion". However beautiful these poems might be, they do not attract us towards children as much as Coleridge's poems do; for in the latter we feel the touch of life and a sincere conviction born out of an intimate experience. Even "The Ancient Mariner" and "Christabel" have something of that child simplicity in them. It is only after 1801 that Wordsworth became more intensely alive to those primary affections. The first poem of profound importance is Wordsworth's little poem on "The Rainbow" where he is alive for the first time to the natural piety of childhood. The next one is the "Cuckoo" (1802), where he speaks of the material universe as disappearing in those visionary hours. This vanishing, he says, is a higher and a more certain truth. Here the sensations are not dependent on his senses, and therefore they are more sacred. That is, the poet has come to the conclusion that sensation should aim at enabling us merely to contact the object in its bare physicality, but should aim at making us experience or comprehend the truth underlying or animating the object. In *The Prelude* we are told that in the visionary experiences of his childhood "an auxiliar light came from his mind", and as a result "new splendour" was bestowed on the forms of Nature (2. 359-70). This "auxiliar light" is said to be the "creative sensibility" (2. 360). And in *The Tintern* we have the "mighty world" which "the eye and the ear" "half-create and half-perceive".

Here we have to note that till 1798, he was speaking of "wise passiveness", and asking us to approach Nature with a receptive mind. This was Berkeley speaking through the medium of Coleridge. In *Tintern* this view was placed side by side with another view advocating an active mind. Coleridge's mind at that time was wavering between Berkeley, Spinoza, Kant and Plato. And Wordsworth, as a faithful follower or reflector of Coleridge's mind carried the same contradictions with him. Coleridge then felt Nature to be tremulous essence "hovering" half-seen and half-felt; and Wordsworth accordingly felt

and saw the same. As Coleridge felt in the famous Ode, so did Wordsworth in the Prelude (Book. 14), where we are told that all grandeur in things perceived is a quality with which they are invested by the powers of the Soul, by love, by imagination. The material of the poetic imagination is sense-material which, says Wordsworth, is governed by "passion". But before it passes or can pass into poetry, there takes place some refining process. And Wordsworth fails to define this process. If this process were governed by affections, how can affection mediate between sense and imagination? Wordsworth was evidently confusing the sense experience of Locke with that of Berkeley, and has not noticed the difference between these two thinkers, since his information was derived from Coleridge, who was all the while enthusiastic about Berkeley. In The Prelude speaking of the creative imagination he says :

" A plastic power

Abode with me; a forming hand, at times
Rebellious, acting in a devious mood;
A local spirit of his own, at war
With general tendency, but, for the most,
Subservient strictly to external things
With which it communed." (2. 362-).

This is "the Shaping Spirit of Imagination" referred to by Coleridge in his *Biographia Literaria*, and said earlier that the soul or mind constructs for itself a world out of the given; for Imagination is said to unsensualise the mind.

To be poetically inspired, Wordsworth maintains in the Tintern, "sensations sweet" should be "felt in the blood and felt along the heart". About the Wanderer we are told,

" sensation, soul, and form,

All melted into him; they swallowed up
His animal being; in them did he live,
And by them did he live; they were his life".

This is pure sensationism which does not provide a place for an active mind. Slowly did Wordsworth discard this idea. So in The Prelude :

" I seemed to gain clear sight
Of a new world.....
.....as ruled by those fixed laws
Whence Spiritual dignity originates,
Which do doth give it being and maintain

A balance, an ennobling interchange
 Of action from without and from within;
 The excellence, pure function, and best power
 Both of the object seen, and eye that sees ". (13. 368-78).

This view we have already seen in its best form in Coleridge himself. Next we have to consider the transfiguring power of high-wrought emotions which brings illumination, and hence "Most worthy then of trust when most intense". In a famous passage of the last book of *The Prelude* (14. 108-205), this is called Imagination or Spiritual Love which provides "faith in life endless", and which is "the sustaining thought of human being, eternity and God". This arises because the mind, as he says, is no "mere pensioner on outward forms" (6. 737); for nature is "more potent" only when it is associated "with an appropriate human centre" (4. 354-70). All this reads like a commentary on the lines already quoted from the *Dejection*.

The glory of the soul breaks forth, says Wordsworth, "when the light of sense goes out, but with a flash that has revealed the invisible world" (6. 600-02). "The burthen of the mystery", "the heavy and weary weight of all this unintelligible world is lightened" in that "serene and blessed mood". One "becomes a living soul" and "sees into the life of things" "with an eye made quiet by the power of harmony, and the deep power of joy". And as he says in *The Excursion* (4. 1132-1155), even the sound of the world is only God's voice perceptible to the senses. So he was "pleased to recognise in Nature and the language of the sense, the anchor of his purest thoughts". There lies the "soul of all his moral being"? This has been the central teaching of Coleridge. And this has found a concise expression in the *Excursion* (4. 1207-74), where we are told that man learns his "duties from all forms" presented to him. Contemplating those natural objects that "excite no morbid passions, no disquietude, no vengeance, and no hatred . . . one needs must feel the joy" of the "pure principle of love". "A holy tenderness will pervade his frame". He "seeks for good, and finds the good he seeks". This passage was written in 1798. The subject, the ideas, the flow of thought, and the turn of expression of the passage have a great similarity with a memorable passage in Akenside's "Pleasures of the Imagination" (3. 568-633). In youth, be it remembered, Coleridge was an ardent admirer of Akenside and it was through him that the passage was versified by Wordsworth.

VII

The Immortality Ode was begun on the 27th of March, 1802. During the preceding five days he composed "The Rainbow" and "The Cuckoo". On the 18th of March, Coleridge has returned to the Lake Country and paid a visit to Grasmere, by which time he had composed his Dejection. The first five words of the 6th stanza of the Dejection form the opening of the Immortality Ode :

" There was a time when, though my path was rough,
 This joy within me dallied with distress,
 And all misfortunes were but as the stuff
 Whence Fancy made me dreams of happiness :
 And hope grew round me, like the twining vine,
 And fruits, and foliage, not my own, seemed mine.
 But now afflictions bow me down to earth :
 Nor care I that they rob me of my mirth ".

Even the expression of this passage has entered into Wordsworth's poem. Coleridge's "Mad Monk" (1800), has the fine lines :

" There was a time when earth, and sea, and skies,
 The bright green vale, and forest's dark recess,
 With all things lay before mine eyes
 In steady loveliness :
 But now I feel, on earth's uneasy scene,
 Such sorrows as will never cease ;
 I only ask for peace ;
 If I must live to know that such a time has been ".

These two passages have gone to make up the first four stanzas of Wordsworth's poem. The divine conception of the child occurring in the first, fifth, sixth, seventh stanzas is purely Coleridgean. In the fifth stanza Wordsworth refers to the pre-existence of the soul. Coleridge has come to believe in this concept as early as 1796 and he drew the inspiration for this idea from Plato himself. And Coleridge held to this view till the very end of his life. Even in 1830, he writes in "Phantom or Fact" :

" A lovely form there sat beside my bed,
 And such a feeding calm its presence shed,
 A tender love so pure from earthly leaven,
 That I unnethe the fancy might control,
 'Twas my own spirit newly come from Heaven,
 Wooing its gentle way into my soul ".

Wordsworth took up this doctrine not as an intellectual and religious principle, but as a sensationistic one. Even as expressive of pure spiritual delight, it owes its origin to Coleridge, who never gave it up. Wordsworth did not take this up for ever, nor did he, as Coleridge points out in his *Biographia Literaria*, consider it seriously. Hence he had to give it up later on as it failed to fit into the scheme of his ecclesiastical wisdom. As Coleridge said, Wordsworth in later life always spoke in the language of "I-and-my-brother-the-Dean".

The main sources of inspiration for Wordsworth here are the third, fourth, and fifth stanzas of Coleridge's Ode to Dejection. In these stanzas Coleridge is lamenting on the loss of the vision. He feels the smothering weight on his breast, while his "genial spirits fail". Then begins the famous stanza: "O Lady! We receive but what we give Speaking of the Soul as supreme and as the creative principle of joy, he proceeds to point out the value of the Joy that issues forth from the soul, from the shaping spirit of Imagination. In these stanzas Coleridge goes much beyond Wordsworth in eliminating the activity of the senses, and in emphasising the creative faculty of the Imagination. Wordsworth wants to connect the glory of the sense with the moral element in our nature; and when the senses decay, he will compensate it with the activity of the Imagination. But how can we have a synthesis of sense and imagination? He answers that "the human heart", "its tenderness, its joys, and fears"—these can make him happy. Or as he said in 1845:

"Vain is the glory of the sky,
The beauty vain of field and grove,
Unless, while with admiring eye
We gaze, we also learn to love."

VIII

Wordsworth wrote *The Prelude* primarily for himself, and next for Coleridge, "the brother of his soul". He wanted to convince himself of the reality of his poetic mission and of the justice of the high hopes placed in him by his friend. He aimed at self-knowledge, which Coleridge emphasised many a time. In his dedication of the *Prelude* to Coleridge, Wordsworth speaks truly of "the buoyant spirits that were our daily portion when we first together wantoned in wild poesy." Coleridge wrote to Wordsworth in the summer of 1799: "I do entreat you go on with the *Recluse*, and I wish you would write a poem, in blank verse, addressed to those who, in consequence of the complete failure of the French Revolution, have thrown up all hopes of the

amelioration of mankind, and are sinking into an almost epicurean selfishness, disguising the same under the soft titles of domestic attachment and contempt for visionary philosophers. It would do great good, and might form part of the Recluse." This letter was answered fittingly and we have *The Prelude*. And so addressing Coleridge, he says:

" So be it, if the pure in heart be prompt
To follow, and if thou, my honoured friend,
Who in these thoughts art ever by my side,
Support, as heretofore, my fainting steps." (3. 197-200).

The poem is mainly designed to give an exposition of Joy and how it manifests itself spiritually. This was Coleridge's theme of relating the poetic experience to the religious one. Wordsworth was able to carry it out with the help of his friend. Consequently the poem presents all that is sensuously stern and cold. Towards the close of 1799 Wordsworth settled in Grasmere. Coleridge came there in the spring of 1800. Even earlier at Alfoxden, under the stimulus of Coleridge, the poem was planned and the first two books were completed by 1800. Wordsworth recalled the dead Coleridge as

" The rapt One, of the god-like forehead,
The heaven-eyed creature ".

Coleridge was the " capacious soul placed on this earth to love and understand " (14.277-8). These are the two things which Wordsworth needed and obtained them in abundance. In 1832, he said: " Coleridge and my beloved sister are the two beings to whom my intellect is most indebted, and, they are now proceeding, as it were, *pari passu*, along the path of sickness, I will not say towards the grave, but I trust towards a blessed immortality ". Two years later he spoke of Coleridge as " the most wonderful man I had ever known : the most wonderful for the originality of his mind, and the power he possessed of throwing out in profusion grand central truths from which might be evolved the most comprehensive systems ". This was well attempted during the decade 1797—1806. Here he admits his obligations to Coleridge who had a breadth of view, a disposition to systematize, and a deep penetration in the sphere of thought. He was " the living, murmuring fount of love ", and his absence made Wordsworth feel the " comfortless and hidden well ".

In the last book of *The Prelude* Wordsworth admits that Coleridge was one of the persons responsible for his restoration. Coleridge helped him in relaxing the " overweening grasp " of fear, in rendering

the "self-haunting spirit" more rational, and in making the mysteries of life and death, time and eternity, more serene (14. 275-300). And hence Coleridge speaks of himself as flowing into the stream of Wordsworth's genius "in a hindred nameless rills," for

"All which I had culled in wood-walks wild,
And all which patient toil had reared, and all
Commune with thee had opened out."

Hazlitt remarks that Coleridge lamented in Wordsworth "a something Corporeal, a matter-of-factness, a clinging to the palpable"; and the mere sound of Coleridge's voice, continues Hazlitt, was "the music of thought". And when Wordsworth was impressed by the thought of others, says Dykes Campbell, the influences "permeated his whole being, and were so completely assimilated as to have become part of himself before any of their results came to the surface." And so as Garrod points out, *The Prelude* "may be said to have been written to Coleridge and for Coleridge—and in a sense by Coleridge. In this poem, and elsewhere, Coleridge may fairly be thought of as the guardian angel of Wordsworth's poetical genius" (page 29). Referring to *The Recluse*, Wordsworth wrote to Beaumont in 1805: "Should Coleridge return, so that I might have some conversation with him, I should go on swimmingly." That is, Wordsworth knew that his poetic genius cannot flourish, cannot exist, in the absence of Coleridge. And Coleridge returned in 1806 only to be estranged from his friend. As Garrod points out: "Perhaps, indeed, Coleridge's greatest work is Wordsworth—and, like all his other work, Coleridge left it unfinished. If there was any medicine for the decline of power which stole over Wordsworth's poetry after 1807, it was perhaps to be sought from Coleridge. From Coleridge Wordsworth had derived the elements of his metaphysic and his genius had died of a metaphysical atrophy. It is hardly an accident that the period of the decline of power coincides with the period in which Wordsworth's gradual estrangement from Coleridge began" (page 30).

IX

There is a fine poem of Wordsworth, composed towards the close of 1806, entitled, "A Complaint . . . Suggested by a change in the manner of a friend". This friend is Coleridge and the poem states the effect of the estrangement on Wordsworth. It opens:

"There is a change—and I am poor;
Your love hath been, nor long ago,

A fountain at my fond heart's door,
 Whose only business was to flow;
 And flow it did; not taking need
 Of its own bounty, or my need."

The love of Coleridge for his friend was a veritable fountain which flowed into the mind of Wordsworth and transformed his thought. It flowed freely even when Wordsworth was not willing to have any discourse on certain subjects; for Wordsworth was very insular and he felt that they were "nursed and reared as if several elements" (6. 254-5). Now the change has come and it has made Wordsworth poorer of the two. So,

"What happy moments did I count!
 Blest was I than all bliss above!
 Now, for that consecrated fount
 Of murmuring, sparkling, living love,
 What have I? Shall I dare to tell?
 A comfortless and hidden well."

Under the influence of Coleridge he was blessed, for he had that consecrated fount of Love. Now he is comfortless and feels miserable. Then follow the important lines:

"A well of love—if may be deep—
 I trust it is,—and never dry:
 What matter? if the waters sleep
 In silence and obscurity.
 —Such change, and at the very door
 Of my fond heart, hath made me poor".

The absence of Coleridge meant the philosophical improvement for his friend, who relapsed into ordinariness and into a free and sentimental indulgence in suffering and despondency, which dominated his pre-1797 career. The waters of his inspiration now sleep in silence and he is poorer. This is the influence of Coleridge on Wordsworth for that decade of great importance. And it was an alien note in Wordsworth. But during this great and memorable decade from 1797 to 1806 it was Coleridge that spoke through Wordsworth.

DENMARK AND DANISH AGRICULTURE

AAGE JÖRGENSEN

HISTORY

Denmark is one of the smallest but also one of the oldest countries in the world. Any Danish school boy can tell you that the first king of Denmark was called Gorm the Old and that Gorm reigned from about 900 to 940 A.D. In a small village called Jellinge two sacred Runic stones are still preserved. The smaller stone bears the one thousand years old inscription :—

“Gorm, King, made this monument to *Thyra*, his wife”—From the old times the Danish woman is loved and respected. In our days she has officially the same democratic rights and duties as the man.

Denmark had kings also before Gorm the Old, but he was the first to leave a record written in stone and King Gorm also succeeded in making a unity and one State out of several small States fighting against each other in many wars.

When the Indian culture was flourishing in Mahanjo-daro and in many other places all over India 5,000 years ago, the Danes was still living as hunters and fishers in tribes using very primitive stone and wood weapons against the wild beasts and against their many enemies outside and inside the small Denmark, which later on was overpopulated and her primitive agriculture could not feed the quickly growing population ; during two centuries the Danes were too well known all over Europe as plundering *Vikings*.

As early as the year 826 A.D. a Danish King had been baptised. But during the next two centuries the Danish visited and conquered different big countries not as faithful baptized Christians but as wild plunderers and clever conquerors. Scandinavian vikings ravaged France and conquered Normandie in 911. The Danish King Svend Tveskeg (Forkbeard) conquered England in 1013 and his son Canute (Knud the Great) became King of England, Denmark and Norway, and this was the culmination of the brief period of greatness of the Danish Kings. The Viking raids were made possible by a large-scale military organization with big fortified camps or military barracks, but with the flourishing agriculture the Danish peasants were not so interested in wars. In spite of many conflicts and wars with different States Denmark was going in a peaceful period and after the last war

with Germany (1864) the Colonel Dalgas said to the Danes: "What you have lost without, you shall win within," and that has been the peace policy since then in Denmark.

Now in 1952, Denmark is a kingdom with one of the most democratic Constitutions in the world, a Co-operative Commonwealth, a member of the United Nations, the European Recovery Programme (the Marshall Plan) and the European Payments Union. The production in agriculture and industry has passed the pre-war level and many factories have been modernised. The Co-operative agriculture with the best dairy farms in the world is now being mechanized with tractors and many other machines and new buildings are going up all over the country. Since 1900, it means in 50 years, the total agricultural area has been doubled by the cultivation of what were expanses of heath and swamp.

THE LAND.

Denmark proper consists of the peninsula of Jutland, the large islands of Zealand, Funen, Lolland, Falster and Bornholm, nearly 100 other inhabited islands, and 400 very small and uninhabited islands.

To Denmark belongs also the world's biggest island, *Greenland*, near the North Pole. Greenland has an area of more than 50 times the size of Denmark and four times the size of France, but has only 22,000 inhabitants, mostly Eskimos and then 500 Danes.

About half way between Scotland and Iceland in the Atlantic, is a group of 18 islands with a population of about 30,000—the Faroe Islands. Since 1948, the Faroes have been a self governing part of Denmark with their own Parliament and their own flag.

AGRICULTURE.

In Denmark not many uncultivated areas are left as woods, heath-land, sand dunes, urban and factory areas. About 12350 square miles—three-quarters of the total—is well cultivated agricultural land.

The Danish peasants were emancipated already in 1788, and later on they were given the means to acquire land and the basis of a free farming class was laid. In 1899, a law was passed which empowered the Government to help the farmer to buy land and to build on it. The Government lends him money and he becomes the freehold owner of both land and buildings. Under an Act of 1919 extended in 1948, the Government grants loans to small holders who possess their own

buildings on Government land. The holdings are quite free and independent whichever method is adopted. In this way the State has helped 25,000 small-holders to obtain their own houses and holdings.

Just over 100,000 of the 210,000 Danish farm holdings have an area ranging between 25 and 100 acres (10 to 60 hectares) and together these middle farms comprise over two-thirds of the total farm land in Denmark. The middle farmers have through their Co-operative producer societies, their dairies and bacon factories, their consumers societies and their purchasing societies a very great economic and political power. The Government is lead by such a middle peasant, the Danish Premier Erik Eriksen, the Minister of Foreign Affairs is a Conservative Ole B. Kraft, whose party together with the party of the middle peasants (*Venstre*) build the Government. Many years before and during the last World War Denmark had a Labour Government whose leader was Stauning.

We have in Denmark about 100,000 middle peasants and also about 1,00,000 small holders, whose economic conditions are not far so good. The 100,000 small-holdings are often too small for a good living; they have an area from about $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre up to 25 acres (0.55—10 hectares); and then at last we have the 4,500 great farmers, landlords and lords, whose 4,500 large farms have together as much land as the 100,000 smallest holdings. It is not easy now after the war to procure land for young farm workers, who often are compelled to go to the towns where some of them are absorbed by the industry, some go to the big army of the unemployed. The 3,177,000 ha (7,752,000 acres) of agricultural land is divided up among 207,000 holdings of 0.55 ha (1.35 acre) and over. Thus, the average size of a holding in Denmark is a little over 1½ ha. (37 acres).

The distribution of farms by size was in 1946, as follows :—

1. Distribution of farms by size, 1946. *

Size of farm (ha)	0.55-10	10-30	30-60	60-120	120 and more.	Total
Number of farms	101,573	80,136	21,908	3,534	995	208,147
Total area, 1000 ha	509.9	1,363.4	829.8	266.8	207.3	3177.2
Percent of total farms	48.8	38.5	10.5	1.7	0.5	1000.0
Percent of total area						
Total	16.1	42.9	26.1	8.4	6.5	100.0

2. Area of Denmark 1951

	1000 hectares	Percent.
Agriculture, total	3,200	74.4
(a) In crop rotation	2,700	62.8
(b) Permanent pastures	500	11.6
Forests and plantations	350	8.1

Heath and sand dunes	300	7,0
Bogs	60	1,4
Lakes and rivers	60	1,4
Roads, built-up areas etc.	330	7,7
Total area	4,300	100,0

3. Distribution of population by occupation, 1940.

	1000 persons.	Percent.
Agriculture, total	1 034,2	26,9
(a) Farming	965,0	25,0
(b) Forestry	25,4	0,7
(c) Horticulture	43,8	1,1
Fishing	31,6	0,8
Handicraft and manufacture	1,284,8	33,4
Trade and finance	483,3	12,6
Transportation	248,8	6,5
Administration, professional occupation	268,3	7,0
Without occupation (retired persons)	492,3	12,8
Total population	3844,3	100,0

LIVESTOCK

The stocks of animals in 1950, 1949 and 1935-39.

	1000 heads.	July 1950	July 1949	1935-39 fairly average
Horses	...	503	532	567
Cattle	...	3044	2919	3196
including Dairy Cows	...	1572	1535	1637
Pigs.	...	3208	2634	3163
Sheep.	...	61	65	170
Poultry (Cocks, Hens, Chickens).	...	24433	25996	29,746

Small farms have much more livestock relative to their area than large farms. This is revealed by the following table :—

	0 55-10 ha (1.25-25 acres)	10-60 ha (25-143 acres)	60 ha and over (148 acres and over).	All holdings
Horses	30	19	13	20
Cattle	123	100	74	100
including Dairy cattle	72	48	35	50
Pigs	85	53	28	54
Sheep	5	5	5	5
Poultry	1239	431	134	517
Total number of "Large animals".	182	120	80	124

The total livestock, measured in "large animals" (a unit which corresponds to one dairy cow) is more than twice as great on small farms as in large farms in relation to area. The difference is particularly marked in the case of pigs and poultry.

The livestock on the average and most typical holdings in 1944, consisted of two horses, six or seven head of cattle, two to four pigs, and 50-60 fowls.

Denmark has been compared with a dwarf, who has too big a head. The head is its capital, *Copenhagen* with more than one million inhabitants out of Denmark's 4.2 millions. In Copenhagen the whole State administration, the Parliament, the industry, the trade, the high schools and the executive organs of the agricultural Co-operations are concentrated.

AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIONS

In September 1951, the biggest and most important peace-organization in the world, the *International Co-operative Alliance* held its congress in Copenhagen. Also India, the Soviet Union, U.S.A., U.K. France and Germany were represented on this world Congress. It was unanimously recognized that all countries had very much to learn of the small but well organised Danish Co-operations. In the Danish Co-operative Society, large or small, local or national, there are the features of an idealistic collective association and of a practically working modern trading company. This duality is part of its strength, though it may sometimes also be a dangerous weakness.

The Co-operative movement in Denmark as in England originally aimed at supporting and strengthening the working classes, the small and the weak through the collective-social power imparted by mutual aid and united effort. The Co-operative movement was from the beginning strongly organised and supported by the leaders and students in the Folk High Schools, and just the Co-operative ideas and principles of these Folk High Schools have influenced the much younger Co-operative movement in a very inspiring and practical way.

The first of these Folk High Schools was started as early as 1844 in the village Rodding, the year the 23 poor weavers of Rochdale, in Lancashire, formed the world's first retail Co-operative Society, and we can find great similarity between the Rodding and the Rochdale Co-operative ideas, which fortunately were carried into effect not by the English or by the Danish State, but by the working people themselves.

22 years later, in 1866, the Danish retail distributive societies began with the establishment of a society at Thisted, the *Thisted*

Workers' Society and it was modelled on the parent society at Rochdale. The direct background in Denmark, as elsewhere was an economic social one. During the first industrialisation of Denmark the working class in town and also in country was quickly growing and the serious food problem had to be solved. In the Thisted society goods were paid in cash at the current prices, but any surplus arising therefrom was distributed among the members at the end of each financial period in proportion to purchases. The members took an equal share in the management and in the decisions made, irrespective of their personal standing, social position or the extent of their purchases.

On the establishment of the very first Danish distributive society in 1866 its founder, pastor Sonne defined its object by saying that the society should serve *to raise the standard of the working class* in an ethical and personal sense, strengthen its self-confidence, and liberate it from its depressed condition.

Half a century later, in 1903 and in 1912, one of the greatest men of the international Co-operative movement, Sverin *Jørgensen* characterised the objective with the words "The Co-operative movement has a far higher, far more important object than to increase the economic welfare of the population. Its most important and significant aim is to raise it to a higher moral standard, to make the members of the Co-operative societies more efficient, more free and independent, and, above all, better men and women.

Many thousand foreign guests from all over the world, also from India, have visited Denmark only for studying its democratic agricultural organizations. Addressing a gathering of such foreign friends in 1912 *Jørgensen* had the following to say :—

"The fact that the broad sections of the population who used to have little say in the management of their affairs have now taken them into their own hand, enjoy the fruits of good management and suffer the ill effects of bad management, gaining practice, knowledge and experience in the most varied ways and spheres through this self-management of their joint economic enterprises, had had tremendous educative significance for the people. And through their work in these joint undertakings, the representatives of the people have been trained to govern in other fields even to take charge of the country's leading affairs. There are men in the highest offices of the country who undoubtedly would never had sat there, had they not acquired the requisite training through their work in the Co-operative movement. And it is obviously to be expected that these men especially, with

all their powers, will watch over the right of the people to the management of their own affairs, well knowing that the good use of it has been of great benefit to themselves and to the country and has even caused larger nations to turn their attention to little Denmark on account of the general high level of culture of the people and to visit it in a large numbers each year with the expectation of learning something from it."

Foreign guests are always welcome to studying the[Danish Agriculture; also many Indians are still going to Denmark for this purpose.

DENMARK'S AGRICULTURE AND ITS RESULTS

The Danish agriculture is first of all characterised by a very intensive live-stock production which for the years up to the beginning of the Second World War was based on substantially supplies of imported concentrated feeding stuffs, first of all of oil cakes, oil seeds and bread grain. During the war years import especially from the Soviet Union and Argentine was completely closed after the war it has been connected with so many national and international restrictions and other difficulties to renew this for the agriculture so necessary import that only the two last years have brought a real increase in the import of oil seeds, oil cakes and bread grain. *The import of these feeding stuffs and grain in 1000 metric tons* is shown in the table below :—

Crop year	Oil seeds for extraction.	Oil cakes and meat.	Maize	Bread grain
1933/34— 1937-38	403.8	648.1	349.7	463.6
1938-39	336.7	801.4	128.7	201.8
1939-40	175.4	364.7	175.3	143.8
1940-41	0.1	1.7	—	4.7
1941-42	0.1	0.2	—	45.7
1942-43	—	—	—	3.4
1943-44	—	1.3	—	—
1944-45	—	—	—	—
1945-46	13.7	202.3	8.9	23.2
1946-47	44.3	204.7	18.3	39.0
1947-48	55.5	225.6	36.2	159.3
1948-49	90.3	432.2	172.3	97.4
1949-50	146.2	410.7	108.9	100.5

This table shows better than many words how the imports of the most important feeding stuffs have been entirely suspended during the last war and how they have been resumed only in a very limited scale since then. In spite of the increase the last year's is in 1949-50, the

import of oil seeds only a little more than one-third of the import 1933-38, of oil cakes two-thirds and of bread grain less than one-fourth.

One of the dangerous consequences of the decrease in import of oil seeds and oil cake can be seen of the following table, which give a comparison between the consumption of animal food in the harvest year 1949-50 and the average consumption in the harvest years 1935-36 to 1939-40. The food value in food units and the digestible pure protein content are given for each period :—

<i>Consumption in mill food units*</i>	1949-50	1935-36 to 1939-40
Concentrates	£561	3795
including imports	(886)	(283)
Coarse fodder	7825	7374
Milk and whey	712	755
Total	12098	11924
<i>Digestible pure protein.</i>		
Concentrates	£95	446
including imports	(197)	(250)
Coarse fodder	377	622
Milk and whey	120	135
Total	1192	1203

In 1949-50 the consumption of concentrates was about 235 million food units less than the normal pre-war consumption, the consumption of milk and whey about 45 million food units less.

The first important thing is that the protein content of the concentrates is about *10 per cent. lower* than before the war. A similar decline is evident in the protein content of milk and whey. The protein content of the coarse fodder in 1949-50 was 55,000 tons higher than before the war.

The dark sides of the agricultural evolution are common for all countries and are due to the many restrictions and the war preparations. The Danish farmers have been compelled to build silos for selazing of proteinous topes for winter feed. Whereas only 1200 farms had silos in 1936, the number in 1950 had risen to 47,300, or nearly 40 times more in only 14 years.

Characteristic of nearly all Danish farms and small holding is their employment of 60-operative methods. In Denmark there are in 1952 1600 dairies, 270 private-capitalistic and 1,330 Co-operative dairies, but the private only receive 10 per cent, the Co-operative 90 per cent for the production of butter, cheese, cream, milk powder and other milk products, also the sale of liquid milk.

*A food unit—the food value of a kilo of barley.

Through the dairies and the State all cows are controlled. Following table shows the yield of controlled cows:—

Breeds	Kilos of milk	Rat. %	Kilos of butter fat
Red Danish	4080	4.05	166
Black & White	3872	3.92	152
Shorthorn	3647	3.75	137
Jerseys	3116	5.79	180
All cows	3429	4.01	163

The Jerseys have the highest fat %, but do not give so much milk as the Red Danish. An average farmer will be satisfied with a cow which yields a fat per cent. of 4 corresponding to about 400 lbs of butter a year.

The record for Red Danish is held by Cow No. 187 of STENS-BYGAARD, which in one year gave 11,682 metric tons of milk, with 4.62 per cent of fat, corresponding to 1338 lbs of butter or nearly 4 lbs a day. The cow weighed 1593 lbs—about 440 lbs more than the average Danish cow.

Finally for comparison with the yield of other countries we bring following statistic over the yield per hectare (quintals) in Denmark and some other countries 1948:—

Countries	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Maize	Potatoes	Sugar beets.
Denmark	36.5	23.9	33.1	30.0	—	212	350
United Kingdom	26.0	19.2	24.4	22.3	—	191	234
Germany	22.0	17.5	17.2	17.7	—	178	256
France	18.0	11.3	15.5	13.9	15.7	140	227
Canada	11.0	7.6	12.8	12.2	30.9	122	234
U.S.A.	12.1	7.9	14.2	13.3	26.8	143	271
Australia	9.8	—	13.2	7.0	—	88	—

Denmark is a small country and its soil is not so fertile as in many other countries. But the population is industrious, hard-working and well educated through centuries, and the agricultural organisations, especially the Co-operative dairies are very strong. Therefore, the agriculture in Denmark has had so good results also in the more difficult years after the Second World War.

HOW WE CAN MECHANISE OUR AGRICULTURE

UMA PRASAD HALDER, M.A.

In view of the growing pressure of population on land and of the country's shortage of food supply, it is imperatively necessary that the total productive capacity of our agriculture should be augmented, and mostly on a planned basis. The population of India has increased by about 30 per cent since 1872 and is now in the neighbourhood of 335 millions. The net area under food crops per capita is about 0.72 acre in our country, while American experts have calculated that 1.2 acres per capita are required to produce an 'emergency restricted diet' in the United States of America. Again industrially India is very backward in an absolute sense, even if we disregard her large population. The economic condition of the masses is very miserable beyond doubt. Hence our aim is to improve the present moribund condition of her people. The great task before the country, therefore, is to work out the salvation by developing the country both industrially and agriculturally. Attempts are now being made to secure the rapid industrialisation of the country ; agricultural development must also keep pace with it. India is essentially an agricultural country, and the whole prosperity of our country depends upon the ways and means which we adopt to uplift this branch of our economy.

India's agriculture is still carried on on the basis of subsistence farming and the technique employed by the cultivators generally belongs to the ancient age. The implements of our peasants consist of some wooden ploughs only. A pair of bullocks supplies him with the motive power. It is very doubtful that our agricultural operations conducted with these twin legacies would give the best result under any circumstances. It is needless to point out that Indian agriculture yields a very poor amount of crops. A comparative study with other advanced countries of the world will reveal that our productive capacity is at the lowest level and that our agriculture is most backward in character. According to the estimates of Colin Clark the production per worker engaged in primary industry is as follows :- New Zealand-2,244 i. u. ; Australia-1,524 i. u. ; Argentine-1,233 i. u. ; U.S.A.-661 i. u. ; Japan-120 i. u. ; Russia-88 i. u. and China-46 i. u. Though no separate estimate has been made for India, still it has been

pointed out by a recent writer that her production will not appreciably differ from that of China.

In this connection it may be noted that according to the census of 1940, the total number of bullocks including male cows amounted to 49 millions for British India only. The present technique of production demands the maintenance of such a huge number of cattle population. The existence of a large number of bullocks hinders the improvement of the breed very greatly. Again they are better fed than cows, and this, in its turn greatly reduces the total milk production within the country. The remedy lies in the reduction of the total number of bullocks, and this will relieve the pressure on food and fodder resources. Furthermore, the reduction will enable the remaining bullocks to be better fed and this will increase their efficiency. Reviewing this situation the Famine Enquiry Commission (1944) remarked :

“One of the urgent needs of agriculture in India is a reduction in the enormous number of bullocks employed in farming operations. The substitution of bullock by mechanical power appears to offer the greatest possibility of effecting this reduction.”

In agricultural operations including the activities, such as lifting of water from tube wells, grinding of corn etc., the Committee recommended “that all possible measures be taken to encourage the use of mechanical power.”

In all advanced countries of the world where agriculture is most magnificently and efficiently organised, agricultural machines, e.g. tractors, combine harvestors, threshers, motor engines etc, have been introduced. They not only save the total labour power needed to cultivate an acre of land but also till the soil well and within a short time.* They will be very suitable for bringing under cultivation new lands remaining fallow or which due to certain reasons, e. g marshy lands, mosquito infested areas etc., cannot be ordinarily brought under the plough. Lands which are infested with deep-rooted weeds can be reclaimed mainly with the help of machines. The most brilliant and successful results have been achieved in the advanced countries like the U. S. A., the U. S. S. R., the U. K., Canada and Australia where the uses of machines play the most important role in agriculture.

* A fully mechanised State farm in the U. S. S. R. uses six to nine man-hours of labour per hectare of arable land, while an individual peasant holding 230 to 280. Over 90 per cent of the major operations in sowing and harvesting are done by machinery. The U. S. S. R.-By—Gregory and Shave.—PP 184 and 187.

We can take a lesson from the actual experiences of these countries and, by breaking the age-old traditions, introduce in our country machineries in the sphere of agriculture. It is claimed that the mechanisation of agriculture will not only solve our food problem greatly by increasing the total yield appreciably, but that it will also place our agriculture on the most sound footing.

Mechanisation of agriculture means performance of certain agricultural operations with the help of machineries. It may be partial or complete. In the U. S. A., the U. K. and the U. S. S. R. mechanisation has been introduced in its complete form on account of shortages of labour and in certain cases high cost of labour. But in India there is cheap surplus labour force, and moreover the bullocks will have to be maintained. Hence Indian agriculture may be partially mechanised. Mechanisation is essential in the following cases :—

- (1) Large scale cultivation on farms and plantations ;
- (2) Bringing of new lands under the plough ;
- (3) Eradication of deep-rooted weeds ;
- (4) Construction of dams, barrages, roads, drainage, irrigation channels and raising of embankments etc.

Mechanical means of ploughing, sowing and reaping can be economically undertaken only on big farms, the size of which should be about 1000 acres. But in India the average area of farms as a result of excessive subdivision and fragmentation of land, is about 4.5 acres, and even in certain provinces the average area may be much smaller. In such small holdings machineries cannot be introduced. Hence we should adopt the principle of collective farming on the Russian model. But it is objected on the ground that collectivisation involves very big issues like the reformation of existing land tenure systems etc., and until these are solved we may embrace other alternatives to collectivisation. The land will be pooled together under different names such as co-operative farming, community farming, joint farm management etc. and any of these according to their suitability to particular local conditions may be adopted in order to raise agriculture to the status of productive farming. In various States machineries have been introduced and they have already established their utility.

The total irrigated area in India amounts to 51 million acres out of the total cultivated area of 258 million acres. On completion of

the major and minor irrigation schemes, about 16.5 million acres of new lands will be irrigated. These areas may be profitably cultivated with machineries and scientific implements.

There are about 91.5 million acres of cultivable waste lands. The plan of the Government of India is to reclaim a substantial portion of these lands which are remaining fallow for centuries. Under the land improvement and reclamation schemes of the Government of India, nearly 7.5 million acres of new land are to be brought under cultivation within the next three years. Mechanised agriculture may be profitably adopted in these areas. Furthermore, the Government of India for the purpose of reclaiming 3 million acres of weed-infested land in the U. P. received a loan to the tune of \$ 10 millions from the I. B. R. D. in 1949. This advance will be partly utilised in purchasing agricultural machineries from the U. S. A. Reclamation work is now carried on in some districts of the U. P. and Madhya Pradesh with the help of tractors which are essential for eradicating deeply rooted Kans grasses. Under the present Five Year Plan the Central Tractor Organisation will reclaim about 1.5 million acres of land within 1956.

Considering the backward character of our agriculture, we advocate the introduction of the scheme of partial mechanisation in India. Various objections are raised against it. The arguments usually advanced may be enumerated as follows :

Firstly, since in India with the growing population other industries are not developing on a sufficient scale, any scheme of mechanisation will drive the surplus labour force out of employment. Secondly, mechanisation is not suitable for Indian soils. Lastly, agriculture is the way of life for millions in India and it is apprehended that mechanisation will turn men into lifeless machines.

As regards the first objection it may be pointed out that partial mechanisation will not result in substantial increase of unemployment because men will be required to use machineries and moreover extra labour force will be necessary for the maintenance and repairing of these machines. It may be argued that since cheap labour is available, partial mechanisation will not be an economical proposition. But we may say that "Efficiency in agriculture means production at a lower cost. Partial use of machinery would lead our agriculture to efficiency and it does not necessarily follow that this would mean fewer men upon the land. It may be fewer men per operation but not per acre. Partial mechanisation would create several new classes of employment." Our reply to the second argument will be that

appropriate and modernised tools will be utilised according to the nature of soil in different parts of the country. As regards the last objection it may be said that by throwing away the outmoded implements and thereby destroying the inertia of centuries, the Indian peasant class may come out of the hard-shell of conservatism. The introduction of machinery in the field of agriculture will pave the way.

The introduction of machineries, as we have already noted, will be possible only on consolidated holdings which are now greatly subdivided and fragmented. This later phase retards the economic progress of our agriculture and it is one of the most important causes of our agricultural backwardness. Mechanisation will uproot this evil. Mechanisation is economical in the sense that it increases the total productivity and the net yield per acre and reduces the cost of production. Finally it will lead the Indian cultivators, whose standard of life has been reduced to the sub-human level, to the path of progress and prosperity.

THE FERRYMAN OF THE GANGINI*

KALIDAS RAY

TWO hundred years ago,—so the legend goes,—
Crossing the river Gangini once in his boat,
Goddess Annapurna, to the ferryman said :
“Ask thou the boon, whatever thou likest !”
Folding his hands in reverence,
This the boatman prayed,
“May my children have
Enough milk and bread !”

O the simpleton ! Without a moment's thought-
Directly made reply, spontaneous and quick.
Meeting the Mother Great,—a rare, lucky chance,
What did he ask for ? A bare sustenance !!
That there could be anything else,
In heaven and earth,
To wish for and own,
Was beyond his dream.

AH, whither is gone that one ardent wish,
So artlessly expressed in a trice ?
“May my children have enough milk and rice !”
Lost in the multitudinous utterances
Of vulgar times,
That humble supplication of a Bengali true,
Graces the feet of the Mother Divine,
Like flowers offered at the shrine.

NAY, never did he crave for
Anything more than this, at any time !
Hankered not after things,
He deserved not.
Sincerely would he believe,
If the goddess deign to give,
Shower she would her gifts
Unsought for.

* Translated by Umanath Bhattacharyya, from the original Bengali.

TODAY, had the Mother vouchsafed us a boon,
Would we have asked anything so soon,
Without giving a serious thought
To ensure all the comforts and treasures of the earth?
And then, having received the same,
Could we have enjoyed it?
No! Our heart would have been aflame
That we did n't ask for more ;

NO peace, no contentment!
There is craving and craving
All around us today.
The more we get, the more we want :
"Give! Give! Give!"
The thirst is never quenched.
Our life is an ignoble strife
For the snatching of the booty.
Struggling we die, midst the dogs and vultures.
And our plunders and prizes are left behind
On this side of the grave.

AS I muse on this,
My mind takes wings and chariots me
To the peaceful scene
At the ferry of the Gangini,
To the narrow, zigzag pathway
Through the balk in the fields,
Smiling with the tender green
Of young paddies ;
Where in an Autumn twilight,
Amidst the lapping of water,
The honest, toiling boatman
Solicits the Goddess in humility meek :
"May my children have
Enough rice and milk!"

Reviews and Notices of Books

Kiranavali of Udayanacaryya, edited by Narendra Chandra Vedāntatīrtha, M.A. and published by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta—price Rs. 20 consisting of 706 pages.

Udayana's *Kiraṇāvalī* is a bulwork of the Vaiśeṣika system. He defends main tenets of this school against the furious attacks of rival schools. If a student of this school does not carefully go through this great work, his knowledge remains imperfect for ever. He will fail to vindicate the truth of the doctrines of his school. This work opens up new vistas to his mind. But without the aid of commentaries no body can understand its deep meaning.

The late MM. Sivachandra Sārvabhauma undertook its publication together with its standard commentary by Vardhamāna Upādhyāya and with an illuminating glossary upon the said commentary under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal nearly fifty years ago. Somehow or other he left the book unfinished and a soreness behind.

After two scores and ten, Pandit Narendra Chandra has been asked to fill up the vacuum of the so keenly felt in the heart of lovers of Indian philosophy. He has very carefully edited the major portion of *Kiraṇāvalī* accompanied by the commentary and the glossary noted above. To his credit he has annexed another unnoticed commentary to it. The author makes mention of himself as Saṅkara Kinkara. MM. Dr. Gopinātha Kaviraja identifies him with Bhaṭṭa Vādindra. The present editor endorses his view. But the style of *Mahāvīdyāviḍambana* is different from that of the present commentary. The said identification requires much more careful examinations. We are all grateful to the learned editor for his unique service to the cause of learning. The unnoticed commentary will be helpful to the less advanced students for the understanding of *Kiraṇāvalī*. The index of authors, works and technical terms will also render assistance to students. The fact that the commentary on *Kiraṇāvalī* has been printed in bold type and also its sub-commentary has been printed in distinct type is very painful to us, whereas the text of *Kiraṇāvalī* sinks into insignificance, being printed in a very small type. Considering the volume of this work, printing mistakes may be overlooked.

In fine, I can confidently say that this book should be a constant companion of every scholar of Indian Philosophy.

J. B.

Ourselves

ACHARYYA JAGADISHCHANDRA BOSE CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

The birth centenary of Acharyya Jagadishchandra falls on 30th November, 1958. The General Secretary of the Centenary Committee has written a letter to the University inviting the suggestions of the University as to the details of the programme which the University may have in view. The Secretary has further written that the major part of the donations that may be given for this purpose, would be utilized in creating endowments for the development and understanding of Science. The Central Government will, it is further stated, issue commemorative stamps and a documentary film on the occasion, and has already donated a sum of one lakh of rupees to the Centenary fund. It is also stated that the Centenary Committee will be glad to supply to institutions, affiliated to the University, and desirous of participating in the celebrations, the details of the life and scientific achievements of Acharyya Jagadishchandra in order to enable them to hold lectures and demonstrations on his life, and to organise exhibitions and popular lectures on scientific topics.

Acharyya Jagadishchandra was perhaps the foremost pioneer of scientific research in India, in the closing years of the 19th century. Ever since his return from England in 1884, he devoted himself to investigations in Physics as a Professor in the Presidency College, Calcutta. Afterwards he shifted his enquiry from the field of Physics to the Biological realm of plants. With the marvellously sensitive instruments which he invented, he magnified the inaudible whisperings of vegetable life, which seemed to him somewhat similar in language to the message of our own nerves. Jagadishchandra sailed across the sea, on several occasions, to place the results of his researches before the questioning scrutiny of the West. He saw an all-pervading unity that binds together all things. His was the scientific discovery of a wonderful truth which is native to our oriental attitude of mind. He brought in a scientific form the message of the *Upanishad* which was proclaimed by the *Rishis* of India on the banks of the *Saraswati* and the *Ganga* thirty Centuries ago—"They who behold the One, in all the changing manifoldness of the Universe, unto them belongs eternal truth, unto nonelse, unto non else." His fame spread rapidly and material contributions from all sides showered upon his schemes, which became crystallized, as it were, in the Bose

Institute. That Institute no doubt is a perpetual memorial of Acharyya Jagadishchandra. But the nation has got a duty to perform on the occasion of his Birth Centenary. Let the people understand and recollect the dedication and service of Acharyya Jagadishchandra. We fervently hope that Science will unfold new mysteries on the soil of India in the new century which opens with the Birth Centenary Celebrations of Acharyya Jagadishchandra Bose.

* * * *

UNIVERSITY LECTURES

Dr. B. C. Das Gupta, Basanta Lecturer of the University for 1957 delivered a course of two lectures on "Evolution of Preventive Medicine and its recent trends" in the Darbhanga Hall of the University on the 22nd and the 23rd September, 1958. Dr. Subodh Mitra, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, Calcutta University, presided over both the lectures.

* * * *

Sri Sudhansumohan Bandyopadhyay, M.A. LL.B., member of the University Senate, delivered a course of two lectures on "Kavi Sri Aurobindo" in the Darbhanga Hall of the University, in September, 1958. Dr. Srikumar Banerjee, M.A. LL.B. Ph.D., presided over the lectures.



Notifications

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification

No. C/316/52 (Affl.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Raiganj College has been affiliated in Biology to the I.Sc. standard, Alternative Bengali to the I.A. standard, Sanskrit and Philosophy to the B.A. Pass standard, Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics to the B.Sc. Pass standard with effect from the session 1958-59, *i.e.*, with permission to present candidates in the above-named subjects at the examinations mentioned, from 1960 and not earlier.

SENATE HOUSE,
Calcutta.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification

No. C/321/69 (Affl.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Howrah Girls' College has been affiliated to the B.A. Honours standard, in Economics with effect from the session 1958-59, *i.e.*, with permission to present candidates in the above-named subjects at the examinations mentioned, from 1960 and not earlier.

SENATE HOUSE,
Calcutta.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar.

The 2nd August, 1958.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification

No. C/479/50 (Affl.)

It is hereby notified for general information that in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Uttara Para Raja Pearymohan College, Hughli has been affiliated to the B.A. Pass standard, in Bengali and Mathematics with effect from the session 1958-59, *i.e.*, with permission to present candidates in the above-named subjects at the examinations mentioned, from 1960 and not earlier.

SENATE HOUSE,
Calcutta.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar.

The 18th August, 1958.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification

No. Kts./R.A./1st Pr. BDS. May, 1958

The following are the orders of the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate with respect to the candidate who was reported against at the First Professional B.D.S. Examination held in May, 1958 :—

The First Professional B.D.S. Examination of May, 1958 of the candidate noted below is cancelled :—

Subeschandra Bhaumik, Roll Cal. No. 25, Regn. No. 12103 of 1952-53, Calcutta Dental College.

N. C. ROY,

Controller of Examinations.

No. Rts./R.A./B.A. & B.Sc./58.

SENATE HOUSE,

Calcutta.

The 16th August, 1958

The following are the orders of the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate with regard to the R. A. cases arising out of the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations, 1958 :—

B.A. Cases

- (i) The following candidates are exonerated from the charge of breach of discipline:—
1. Birendralal Bhattacharyya, Roll Cal. No. 1524, Regn. No. 25983 of 1954-55, Maharaja M. C. College.
 2. Dulalchandra Das, Roll Cal. No. 2283, Regn. No. 15856 of 1954-55, Bangabasi College.
 3. Mira Mitra, Roll Cal. F. 1002, Regn. No. 10378 of 1955-56, Surendranath College.
 4. Maya Sarkar, Cal. F. 1546, Regn. No. 20011 of 1954-55, Muralidhar Girls' College.
 5. Nimaipada Sen, Roll Nai. N. No. 3, Regn. No. 6625 of 1950-51.
 6. Syamapada Mukhopadhyay, Roll Nai. N. No. 8.
 7. Amiyakumar Dewan, Roll Nai. Ext. No. 14, Regn. No. 8702 of 1945-46.
- (ii) The examination of 1958 of the following candidates is cancelled :—
1. Phanigopal Ray, Roll Cal. No. 562, Regn. No. 18301 of 1953-54, Bangabasi College.
 2. Chiraprakas Ojha, Roll Cal. No. 1062, Regn. No. 182 of 1955-56, Asutosh College.
 3. Sujitmohan Chaudhuri, Roll Cal. No. 1067, Regn. No. 86 of 1955-56, Asutosh College.
 4. Sudhansusekhar Pal, Roll Cal. No. 1073, Regn. No. 368 of 1955-56, Asutosh College.
 5. Radharaman Rai, Roll Cal. No. 1407, Regn. No. 128 of 1956-57, Vidyasagar College.
 6. Sailendranath Bhattacharyya, Roll Cal. No. 1525, Regn. No. 14226 of 1955-56, Maharaja M. C. College.
 7. Gurupada Som, Roll Cal. No. 1833, Regn. No. 27340 of 1954-55, City College.
 8. Mandira Mitra, Roll Cal. F. 1001, Regn. No. 19682 of 1954-55, Surendranath College.
 9. Asitkumar Mitra, Roll Cal. Ext. 212, Regn. No. 5931 of 1952-53.
 10. Asiskumar Ray, Roll Bur. No. 90, Regn. No. 3937 of 1954-55, Burdwan Raj College.
 11. Atulchandra Giri, Roll Cont. No. 128, Regn. No. 8353 of 1955-56, Contai P. K. College.
 12. Syamapada Pramanik, Roll Kri. Sp. N. 3, Regn. No. 7012 of 1953-54, Krishnagar College.
 13. Durgapada Ray, Roll Mahi. No. 38, Regn. No. 3899 of 1952-53, Mahishadal Raj College.
 14. Sadhankumar Bandyopadhyay, Mid. Ext. 35.
 15. Ranjitkumar De, Roll Nai. No. 58, Regn. No. 12443 of 1955-56, Naihati Rishi Bankimchandra College.
 16. Sudhendusekhar Chaudhuri, Roll Nai. Ext. No. 9, Regn. No. 17942 of 1951-52.
- (iii) The examination of 1958 of the following candidates is cancelled and they are debarred from appearing at any examination of this University in 1959 :—
1. Bhupendranath Sengupta, Roll Cal. No. 1387, Regn. No. 12789 of 1951-52, Vidyasagar College.
 2. Sisirkumar Majumdar, Roll Cal. N. 182, Regn. No. 18400 of 1953-54, Non-Collegiate Student, Charuchandra College.
 3. Suryyakumar Pal, Roll Ber. No. 139, Regn. No. 4714 of 1947-48, Berhampore Krishnath College.
 4. Kartikchandra Das, Roll Jal. N. 7, Regn. No. 15378 of 1953-54, Non-Collegiate Student.
 5. Chandrakumar Modak, Roll Kri. No. 29, Regn. No. 12101 of 1954-55, Krishnagar College.

6. Santigopal Chaudhuri, Naba. Ext. 7, Regn. No. 20275 of 1946-47.
7. Chittaranjan Mukhopadhyay, Roll Nai. No. 59, Regn. No. 7062 of 1955-56, Naihati Rishi Bankimchandra College.
- (iv) The examination of 1958 of the following candidate is cancelled and he is debarred from appearing at any examination of this University during the period from 1959 to 1962 :—
1. Shree Krishna Ojha, Roll Dar. No. 55, Darjeeling Government College.

B.Sc. Cases

- (i) The following candidates are exonerated from the charge of breach of discipline :—
1. Sitanath Saha, Roll Cal. No. 562, Regn. No. 8823 of 1952-53, Bangabasi College.
2. Md. Mohsin, Roll Cal. No. 911, Regn. No. 1177 of 1955-56, Asutosh College.
- (ii) The examination of 1958 of the following candidates is cancelled :—
1. Akhilchandra Naharay, Roll Cal. No. 324, Regn. No. 13374 of 1953-54, Bangabasi College.
2. Dilipkumar Das, Roll Cal. No. 472, Regn. No. 7896 of 1955-56, Bangabasi College.
3. Debasis Mitra, Roll Cal. No. 525, Regn. No. 5204 of 1953-54, Bangabasi College.
4. Anilkanta Pan, Roll Cal. No. 546, Regn. No. 3414 of 1952-53, Bangabasi College.
5. Nirmalkumar Sengupta, Roll Cal. No. 568, Regn. No. 11178 of 1953-54, Bangabasi College.
6. Ansarul Huque, Roll Cal. No. 572, Regn. No. 3448 of 1952-53, Bangabasi College.
7. Sidheshwar Prasad Srivastava, Roll Cal. No. 581, Regn. No. 12218 of 1952-53, Bangabasi College.
8. Manasapada Biswas, Roll Cal. No. 590, Regn. No. 12113 of 1951-52, Bangabasi College.
9. Subodh Chandra Jain, Roll Cal. No. 619, Regn. No. 24098 of 1955-56, Bangabasi College.
10. Pinakiranjan Kumar, Roll Cal. No. 882, Regn. No. 18718 of 1952-53, Asutosh College.
11. Maha Nand Nautiyal, Roll Cal. No. 896, Regn. No. 2687 of 1954-55, Asutosh College.
12. Ramendrakumar Pal, Roll Cal. No. 898, Regn. No. 2192 of 1955-56, Asutosh College.
13. Priyaranjan Mitra, Roll Cal. No. 903, Regn. No. 2057 of 1953-54, Asutosh College.
14. Bimalkumar Mitra, II, Roll Cal. No. 906, Regn. No. 2102 of 1955-56, Asutosh College.
15. Anilkumar Pal, Roll Cal. No. 957, Regn. No. 2185 of 1955-56, Asutosh College.
16. Amalkumar Raychaudhuri, Roll Cal. No. 1894, Regn. No. 8703 of 1955-56, City College.
17. Salilkumar Bhattacharyya, Roll Cal. No. 2055, Regn. No. 19072 of 1953-54, City College.
18. Sujankumar Mitra, Roll Cal. No. 2244, Regn. No. 5712 of 1954-55, City College.
19. Triptikumar Sinha, Roll Cal. No. 2445, Regn. No. 20150 of 1952-53, City College.
20. Dilipkumar Bag, Roll Cal. No. 2452, Regn. No. 25234 of 1954-55, City College.
21. Balbhadra Prasad Sonthalia, Roll Cal. No. 3380, Regn. No. 8131 of 1954-55, Vidyasagar College.
22. Arnablal Bandyopadhyay, Roll Cal. No. 3458, Regn. No. 17988 of 1953-54, Bangabasi College.
23. Dilipkumar Ghosh, Roll Cal. No. 3660, Regn. No. 6716 of 1952-53, Bangabasi College.
24. Arunendu Sarkar, Roll Cal. No. 3738, Regn. No. 19404 of 1949-50, Bangabasi College.
25. Nanilal Deb, Roll Cal. N. No. 46, Regn. No. 17133 of 1952-53, Non-Collegiate Student, Vidyasagar College.
26. Pritibrata Basu, Roll Bur. No. 85, Regn. No. 15115 of 1953-54, Burdwan Raj College.
27. Pranabananda Pal, Roll Mid. No. 92, Regn. No. 21327 of 1953-54, Midnapore College.
- (iii) The examination of 1958 of the following candidates is cancelled and they are debarred from appearing at any examination of this University in 1959 :—
1. Bakulranjan Framanik, Roll Cal. 548, Regn. No. 16574 of 1954-55, Bangabasi College.
2. Swapankumar Raychaudhuri, Roll Cal. No. 559, Regn. No. 15277 of 1954-55, Bangabasi College.
3. Samir Saha, Roll Cal. No. 561, Regn. No. 13494 of 1953-54, Bangabasi College.
4. Nimaichandra Mallik, Roll Cal. No. 3399, Regn. No. 10540 of 1947-48, Vidyasagar College.

5. Indraprasad Pradhan, Roll Dar. No. 11, Regn. No. 5296 of 1954-55, Darjeeling Government College.

(iv) The examination of 1958 of the following candidate is cancelled and he is debarred from appearing at any examination of this University in 1959 and 1960 :—

1. Biswanath Bandyopadhyay, Roll Cal. No. 2454, Regn. No. 8558 of 1953-54, City College.

N. C. ROY,

Controller of Examinations.

UTKAL UNIVERSITY

Notification No. EC/400.

Cuttack, the 23rd June, 1958.

In accordance with Standing Order No. 28 of the Syndicate the following candidate who took recourse to unfair means at the Bachelor of Education Examination of 1958 is penalised as noted against him :—

Roll No.	Name	Institution	Penalties imposed
1	2	3	4
95	Sri Artabandhu Mishra, S/o. Late Balabhadra Mishra, Village & P.O. Sarankul, Via Naya- garh, Dist. Puri.	R. N. Training College, Cuttack (Non- Collegiate).	Result for 1958 exami- nation is cancelled and he is debarred from appearing at any of the examina- tions prior to the Examination of 1960.

UNIVERSITY OFFICE,
Cuttack.

(Sd) Illegible,
Assistant Registrar.

The 23rd June, 1958.

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF SECONDARY EDUCATION, ORISSA

The 29th May, 1958.

The candidate whose particulars are given below is found guilty of gross misconduct (in that he had altered the date of birth in the Admit card issued to him by the Board of Secondary Education, Orissa and presented it as proof of age along with the application form for the Supplementary High School Certificate Examination, 1958) and is debarred from appearing at any examination conducted by the Board prior to the Supplementary High School Certificate Examination of 1968.

Sl. No.	Name of the candidate.	Name of father	Name of School	Address
1	Gouri Kishore Patnaik.	K. Satyanarayan Patnaik.	Private under Regulation 2 of Chapter X.	S/o. K. Satyanarayan Patnaik, Assistant Accountant, Police Office, P. O. Chhatrapur, Dist. Ganjam.

(Sd) S. SAHU,
Secretary.

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF SECONDARY EDUCATION, ORISSA

The 29th May, 1958.

The candidate whose particulars are given below is found guilty of gross misconduct (in that he has altered the date of birth on the Transfer Certificate issued to him by the authority of the school in which he read) and is debarred from appearing at the High School Certificate Examination for the next five years, i.e., prior to the Supplementary High School Certificate Examination, 1963 conducted by the Board of Secondary Education, Orissa.

Sl. No.	Name	Name of father	Name of school	Address
1	Trailokya Dehury	Hari Dehury	Angul High School.	Hemasarpara, Nirupadhi Mess, P. O. Angul, Dist. Dhenkanal.

(Sd) S. SAHU,
Secretary.

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF SECONDARY EDUCATION, ORISSA

Notification No. C. 404

Cuttack, the 29th May, 1958.

In accordance with Regulation 14 of Chapter X of the Regulations of the Board, the following candidate, who took recourse to unfair means at the Annual High School Certificate Examination, 1958, is penalised as noted against him.

Sl. No.	Name	Roll No.	Institution	Penalties imposed
1	Sashibhusan Satpathy, Vill. Nanpur, P. O. Balichandrapur, Dist. Cuttack.	3660	(Private under Regulation 3 of Chapter X.	Result of the Annual High School Certificate Examination, 1958 is cancelled and he is debarred from appearing at any examination conducted by this Board prior to the Annual High School Certificate Examination of 1960.

(Sd) S. SAHU,
Secretary.

SARDAR BALLABHBHAI VIDYAPEETH UNIVERSITY

Notification

No. E/6.

The 14th July, 1958.

In continuation of this University Notification No. E/6., dated the 1st July, 1958, it is further notified for the information of all concerned that the Syndicate has resolved at its meeting held on the 12th July, 1958, to punish the following candidate who is found guilty of having used unfair means at the Inter. Commerce Examination of March, 1958 as noted against him :—

Serial No.	Candidate's name	Examination No.	The name of the examination.	Punishment inflicted
1	Patel Kanubhai Kashibhai.	207	Inter. Commerce March, 1958.	The result of the last examination at which he appeared is cancelled and he is debarred from appearing at any University Examination before the 1st January, 1961.

He is permitted to join the college in June, 1960, to prosecute his studies, if he so desires.

(Sd) Illegible,
For Registrar.

THE MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO UNIVERSITY OF BARODA

Notification

No. SR(EX)58-VI-106

It is hereby notified under the direction of the Syndicate that the results of the following 19 candidates, who have been found guilty of having practised unfair means

at the University Examinations of March-April, 1958, mentioned against the name of each of them, are hereby cancelled. Further, candidates with Serial Nos. 1 to 18 are debarred from appearing at any University Examination before the 31st December, 1959 and candidate with Serial No. 19 is debarred from appearing at any University Examination before the 31st December, 1958 :—

Sr. No.	Examination	Examination Seat No.	Name	College/Faculty
1	F.Y.B.A.	173	Sri Madhusudan Chhaganlal Shah.	Faculty of Arts
2	Intermediate Arts.	24	Sri Kantilal Bhavani-shanker Pathak.	Intermediate College
3	Intermediate Arts.	35	Sri Harshadray Thakorlal Bhatt.	Intermediate College
4	F.Y.B.Sc.	28	Sri Pradyumna Manubhai Patel.	Faculty of Science
5	Intermediate Science.	38	Sri Sureshchandra Ochhalval Shah.	Faculty of Science
6	B.Sc.	44	Sri Hasmukhbhai Fakirbhai Patel.	Faculty of Science
7	B.Sc.	45	Sri Jagdishchandra Chuni-bhai Patel.	Faculty of Science
8	B.Sc.	136	Sri Jagdishchandra Maneklal Dave.	Faculty of Science
9	B.Sc.	140	Sri Sureshchandra Jethalal Parikh.	Faculty of Science
10	B.Sc.	145	Sri Ramanlal Chhaganlal Thakar.	Faculty of Science
11	B.Sc.	264	Sri Prafullachandra Ramanbhai Patel.	Faculty of Science
12	F.Y.B.Com.	11	Sri Harshadray Dhanubhai Bhatt.	Faculty of Commerce
13	F.Y.B.Com.	84	Sri Rameshchandra Kantilal Parikh.	Faculty of Science
14	F.Y.B.Com.	86	Sri Bhupendrasinh Laxmansinh Parmar.	Faculty of Science
15	F.E. (New)	97	Sri Pravinchandra Chandulal Shah.	Faculty of Technology and Engineering.
16	F.E. (New)	242	Sri Harendrakumar Biharial Upadhyay.	Faculty of Technology and Engineering.
17	Intermediate Architecture	26	Sri Yashavant Govind Sonawane.	Faculty of Technology and Engineering.
18	Intermediate Architecture	40	Sri Rameshchandra Chimanlal Parikh.	Faculty of Technology and Engineering.
19	B.Sc.	263	Sri Naginbhai Ambalal Patel.	Faculty of Science

(Sd) Illegible,
I/c. Assistant Registrar.
(Examinations).

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SYNDICATE

No. S3/2234/58.

Waltair, the 23rd June, 1958.

Encl. :—1 statement.

Sub. :—Misconduct at University Examinations—March-April, 1958

Read—Syndicate Resolution, dated the 7th June, 1958.

ORDER

The results of the following candidates who have been found guilty of resorting to unfair means at the University Examinations held in March-April, 1958 are cancelled and they are debarred from appearing for any of the University Examinations for the periods noted against each :—

Sl. No.	Name of the candidate	Examination	Reg. No.	Period of Rustication
1	L. Radhakrishna Rao	Matriculation	482	Debarred for one and half years and permitted to sit for the University Examination to be held in September, 1959 or thereafter.
2	V. Sriramamurti Raju	Matriculation	3489	Debarred for two years and permitted to sit for the University Examination to be held in March, 1960 or thereafter.
3	G. Krishnamurti	Intermediate	1106	Debarred for one year and permitted to sit for the University Examination to be held in March, 1959 or thereafter.
4	M. V. Krishnamurti	Intermediate	1107	Do.
5	C. Nageswara Rao	Intermediate	1122	Do.
6	B. Pardhasaradhi	Intermediate	6450	Do.
7	P. Adinarayana	Intermediate	6074	Debarred for one and half years and permitted to sit for the University Examination to be held in September, 1959 or thereafter.
8	K. Mangapathi Raju	Intermediate	1833	Debarred for two years and permitted to sit for the University Examination to be held in March, 1960 or thereafter.
9	L. Adishesayya	Intermediate	5818	Do.
10	P. Anjaneyulu	Intermediate	5821	Do.
11	J. Satyanarayana	Pre-University	1459	Debarred for one and half years and permitted to appear for the University Examination to be held in September, 1959 or thereafter.
12	Lanka Madhusudhana Rao.	Pre-University	1542	Debarred for one year and permitted to appear for University Examination to be held in March, 1959 or thereafter.
13	Alla Harinarayana	B.A.	3066	Debarred for one and half years and permitted to appear for the University Examination to be held in September, 1959 or thereafter.

(By order)

V. SIMHADRI RAO,
In-Charge Registrar.

AGRA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. 10 of 1958-59

A. It is hereby notified that the results of the following candidates have been cancelled for 1958 examination as they used or attempted to use unfair means at the University Examination of 1958 :—

Roll No.	Enrolment No.	Name of the candidate	Name of college
<i>B.A. (Part I)</i>			
6979	A 576552	Rajendra Nath Saxena	D. A. V. College, Kanpur
7286	A 576793	Surendra Singh Gangwar	Do.
7536	A 5611957	Prithvi Nath Chaurasia	Do.

B.Sc. Part I

182	A 57558	Pooran Mal Agrawal	Agra College, Agra
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LL.B. (Previous)

547	A 546005	Ghan Shyam Bhushan Gupta	Bareilly College, Bareilly
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B.A. Part II

5472	A 5411988	Krishna Mohan Misra	K. N. Government College, Gyanpur.
7815	A 539506	Harish Chandra Saksena	D. A. V. College, Kanpur

B.Com. Part II

309	A 557409	Janki Prasad	B. S. College, Aligarh
392	A 544472	Yatish Chandra	Do.

B.Sc. Part II

1611	A 555727	(Km.) Indu Bhandari	D. A. V. College, Kanpur
2591	A 557649	Shiv Charan	D. A. V. College, Muzaffar- nagar.

LL.B. (Final)

8	A 518133	Baij Nath Tewari	Agra College, Agra
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M.A. (Final)

2014	A 472153	Ganpat Sahai Srivastava	D. A. V. College, Kanpur
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M.A. (Previous)

4264	A 537674	Vishwa Bandhu	D. A. V. College, Dehradun
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B. It is hereby notified that the results of the following candidates have been cancelled for 1958 Examination and they have been further debarred from appearing at any examination of the University in 1959, as they used or attempted to use unfair means at the University Examinations of 1958 :—

Roll No.	Enrolment No.	Name of the candidate	Name of college
<i>B.A. Part I</i>			
148	A 57345	Niranjan Lal Jaiswal	Agra College, Agra
260	A 5711421	Satya Narain Sengar	Do.
327	A 57320	Ved Ram Sharma	Do.
461	A 572157	Prakash Chandra Rawat	Do.
562	A 573965	Baloo Prasad	Do.
570	A 573975	Faruq Ali Khan Soofi	Do.
1424	A 575876	Prabhash Chandra Agrawal	Barahseni College, Aligarh
5961	A 5710406	Dinesh Singh	B. D. College, Jhansi
6654	A 576252	Haridwar Ram Tripathi	D. A. V. College, Kanpur
8658	A 5621871	Shakuntla Nigam (Private)	S. N. Sen Balika Vidyalaya, Kanpur.
9157	A 578689	Om Prakash Sharma (Primus)	N. R. E. C. College, Khurja
9292	A 563048	Krishna Kumar Agarwal	Do.
9386	A 562581	Lakhan Singh Raghava	Do.
9391	A 562615	Panna Lal Govil	Do.
10349	A 577787	Amar Singh	Meerut College, Meerut
10828	A 578100	Vijay Pal Singh	Do.
13265	A 5621297	Syed Zahir Ali	Government Raza Degree College, Rampur.
<i>B.Com Part I</i>			
1084	A 577530	Mohibul Ghafoor	D. A. V. College, Kanpur
1144	A 5613239	Radhey Shiam Gupta	Do.
2112	A 573250	Kailash Narain Arora	Hindu College, Moradabad
<i>B.Sc. Part I</i>			
978	A 5712515	Radhey Shyam	Bareilly College, Bareilly
1745	A 5710863	Chhotey Lal Pandey	K. N. Government College, Gyanpur.

2261	A 577173	Narain Prasad	D. A. V. College, Kanpur
3509	A 567560	Vishnu Autar	Hindu College, Moradabad

B.Sc. (Ag.) Part I

162	A 574314	Rohtash Kumar Tomar	Jat Vedio College, Baraut
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LL.B. (Previous)

83	A 55165	Mahavir Prasad Goyal	Agra College, Agra
688	A 535018	Ram Kumar Tayal	Bareilly College, Bareilly
1002	A 543583	Pritam Singh Bedani	M. M. H. College, Ghaziabad
1244	A 555073	Pratap Singh	D. A. V. College, Kanpur
1289	A 5313737	Ramesh Chandra Pradhan	Do.
2104	A 553108	Shital Prasad Tyagi	Meerut College, Meerut
2295	A 5210930	Om Saran Garg	K. G. K. College, Moradabad

B.A. Part II

232	A 5618003	Sudkhbir Singh Sirohi	Agra College, Agra
414	A 5521	Bankey Behari Lal Bansal	St. John's College, Agra
3045	A 545762	Ram Baboo Saxena	Bareilly College, Bareilly
5454	A 5615851	Sadanand Yadava	K. N. Government College, Gyanpur.
7673	A 542494	Rajendra Prasad Misra	D. A. V. College, Kanpur
8002	A 5520537	Chandra Sewak Tripathi	Do.
8126	A 548378	Uma Shanker Srivastava	Do.
8845	A 5510899	Govind Prasad Maheshwari	N. R. E. C. College, Khurja
8884	A 562587	Mahabir Singh Yadava	Do.
11950	A 5621238	Khurdishul Zafar Khan	Government Raza Degree College, Rampur.
11987	A 553561	Syes Ahmad Ali	Do.
12649	A 538052	Surendra Kumar Sehgal	Subhash National College, Unnao.

B.Com Part II

344	A 562489	Ramesh Chandra Vaishya	Barahseni College, Aligarh
1814	A 543786	Shyam Murari Gupta	Y. D. College, Lakhimpur, Kheri.
2021	A 5510535	Ativir Prashad Jain	Meerut College, Meerut

B.Sc. Part II

727	A 5610750	Rajendra Kumar Agarwal	Bareilly College, Bareilly
756	A 558614	Shimbhoo Dayal Gangwar	Do.
2229	A 569151	Raghunandan Prashad Puthia	Meerut College, Meerut
2349	A 5510480	Vijay Kumar Mittal	Do.
2383	A 5510483	Vijay Narain Mathur	Do.
2401	A 531279	Mahendra Kumar	Do.

LL.B. (Final)

338	A 483354	Mam Chand	D. A. V. College, Dehra Dun
644	A 5315084	Ram Lal Bharti	D. A. V. College, Kanpur
899	A 533365	Ram Pal Singh	D. A. V. College, Muzaffar-nagar.

M.A. (Final)

2627	A 531902	Yajendra Mani Sharma	Meerut College, Meerut
2682	A 537748	Tribeni Prasad Dhondiyal	Th. D. S. B. Government College, Nainital.

M.Sc. (Previous)

706	A 533941	Philip Chacko	St. John's College, Agra
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SENATE HOUSE,
Agra.
The 11th July, 1958.

L. P. MATHUR, D.Sc.
(CAPT.),
Registrar.

Notification

The undermentioned candidates, had resorted to unfair means at the following Board Examinations, held in March/April, 1958. Their present examination has therefore been cancelled, and they have further been debarred from appearing at any examination of the Board to be held in the year(s) noted against each.

Sl. No.	Roll No.	Enrolment No.	Name of Institution (Place of residence in case of non-collegiate candidates).	Year(s) for which debarred.
<i>Intermediate in Arts Examination</i>				
1	676	56/537	Ashok Kumar Misra	1959
2	1621	57/2135	(Mrs.) Vijaya Kumari Pareek	1959
3	2088	56/2775	Atal Behari Saxena	1959 and 1960
4	3941	Ex.56/8	Jamuna Lal Porwal	1959
<i>Intermediate in Science Examination</i>				
5	529	56/7118	Janardan Sharma	1959
6	567	56/7351	Krishan Gopal	Present examination cancelled.
7	586	54/3998	Lalit Mohan Sharma	1959
8	1609	54/6213	Hari Krishan Joshi	1959
9	1772	54/5239	Girish Chandra Ora	1959
10	2144	55/3188	Sardendu Singh Losha	1959
<i>Intermediate in Commerce Examination</i>				
11	12	56/3579	Bhagwan Sahai Gupta (Primus)	Present examination cancelled.
12	1756	55/6071	Jagdish Prashad Parasrampur	1959
13	2288	57/3649	Satya Narayan Garg	1959
<i>Intermediate in Agriculture (Part I) Examination</i>				
14	105	57/1020	Manjeet Singh Arora	Present examination cancelled.
<i>Intermediate in Agriculture (Part II) Examination</i>				
15	6	56/1822	Ganpat Singh Varma	Present examination cancelled.

Higher Secondary Examination

16	385	Udai Lal Mehta	Goverdhan M. P. Higher Secondary School, Nathdwara.	Present examination cancelled.
17	568	Arun Kumar Saxena	Government M. P. Higher Secondary School, Bharatpur.	Present examination cancelled.
18	600	Narsin Prasad Ghiya	Do.	1959
19	1359	Ram Jeewan Mathaniya	Government M. P. Higher Secondary School, Barmer.	1959
20	1606	Vijaya Kumar Mehta	Government M. P. Higher Secondary School, Partabgarh.	1959

High School Examination

21	491	Mahaboob Beg	Government Moinia Islamia High School, Ajmer.	1959
22	3363	Brij Bhooshan Goyal	Bhimraj High School, Barod	Present examination cancelled.
23	3437	Rang Rao Singh Yadava	Do.	1959
24	3442	Roop Narain Sharma	Do.	Present examination cancelled.
25	4392	Ramji Lal Yadava	(Sawai Madhopur)	1959
26	4401	Shiv Charan Lal Singhal	(Bharatpur)	1959
27	4509	Jagdish Lal Sharma	Government High School, Bhilwara	1959
28	4875	Hira Lal Lakhara	(Bhilwara)	1959
29	5210	Shambhu Lal Jain	Government Inter. College, Banswara	Present examination cancelled.
30	6698	Munir Ahmad	(Bikaner)	1959
31	7515	Shri Niwas Agarwal	Mahana High School, Jahazpur	1959
32	8303	Balbir Singh Yadava	(Churu)	1959
33	8556	Sadmal Verma	Government Inter. College, Dausa	Present examination cancelled.
34	8699	Chiranjil Lal Sharma	(Dausa)	1959
35	10559	Ganga Sahay Sharma	(Sawai Madhopur)	1959
36	12270	Shyam Manohar Vyas	S. M. D. Jain High School, Jaipur	Present examination cancelled.
37	12598	Hanuman Prashad	(Jaipur)	1959
38	12991	Keilash Chand Sharma	(Jaipur)	1959
39	18335	Harish Chandra Mutha	(Jodhpur)	1959
40	20384	Chhotu Lal Rathor	Government High School, Jhalrapatan	1959
41	20859	Dinesh Kumar Notwani	(Ajmer)	Present examination cancelled.
42	23186	Jagdish Prashad Sharma	Government High School, Majarikalan	1959 and 1960
43	23198	Kalyan Singh Yadava	Do.	1959
44	23233	Phool Chand Yadava	Do.	1959
45	23236	Phool Singh Yadava	Government High School, Majarikalan	1959

46	23338	..	Yad Ram Varma	Government High School, Partapur	1959
47	27821	..	Jagdish Prasad Nai	(Churu)	1959
48	27928	..	(Miss) Santosh Ahluwalia	Government Girls' High School, Sriganganagar.	1959
49	31241	..	Lalit Kumar Jain	Fateh High School, Udaipur	1959
50	31392	..	Shiv Narayan Saraswat	Do.	1959

(Sd) Illegible,
Secretary,
BOARD OF SECONDARY EDUCATION, RAJASTHAN, JAIPUR.

VIKRAM UNIVERSITY, UJJAIN

Notification No. 45 of 1958

It is hereby notified for general information that the following candidates whose particulars are given below, having used or attempted to use unfair means at the various examinations of this University in 1958, have been debarred from appearing at any examination of this University as noted against each :—

Sl. No.	Name of the examination in which the candidate appeared	Roll No.	Name of the candidate	Name of Father	Name of the Institution from which the candidate appeared at the examination	Remarks
1	M.Sc. (Final) Physico-chemical Chemistry	61	Virendra Pratap Oberoi	Sri Ishardas	Holkar College, Indore	The result of the examination of 1958 has been cancelled and he has further been debarred from appearing at any University Examination of 1959.
2	B.Com. (Part I)	426	Shyam Singh Tomar	Sri Shanker Singh	Do.	Do.
3	B.Sc. (Part I)	313	Ramnik Lal Doshi	Sri Nandlal	Do.	Do.
4	B.Sc. (Part I)	24	Peter Francis Rebello	Sri R. G. Rebello	Government Hamidia College, Bhopal.	The result of 1958 examination has been cancelled and he has further been debarred from appearing at any examination of 1959 and 1960 of this University.

UNIVERSITY OFFICE,
UJJAIN.

July 19, 1958.

G. D. WIDHANI,
Registrar.

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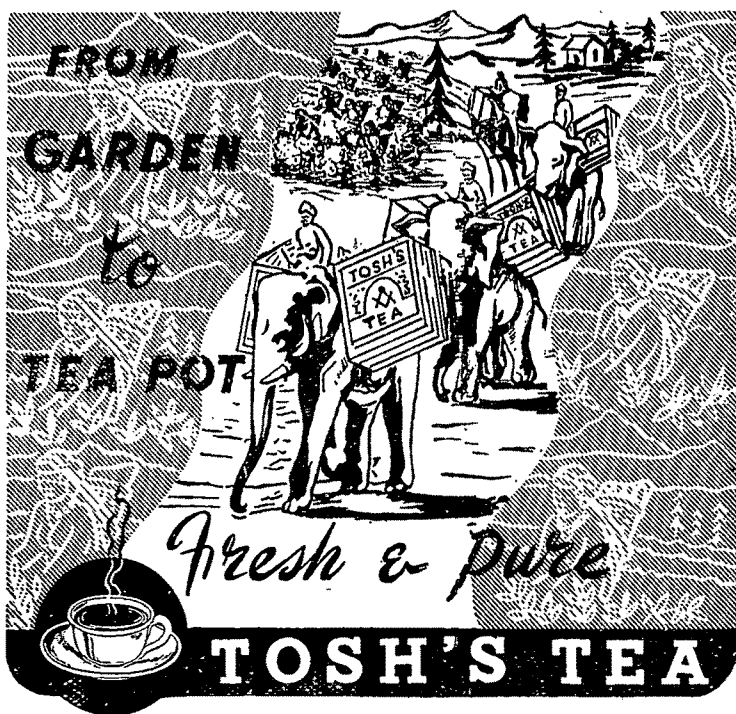
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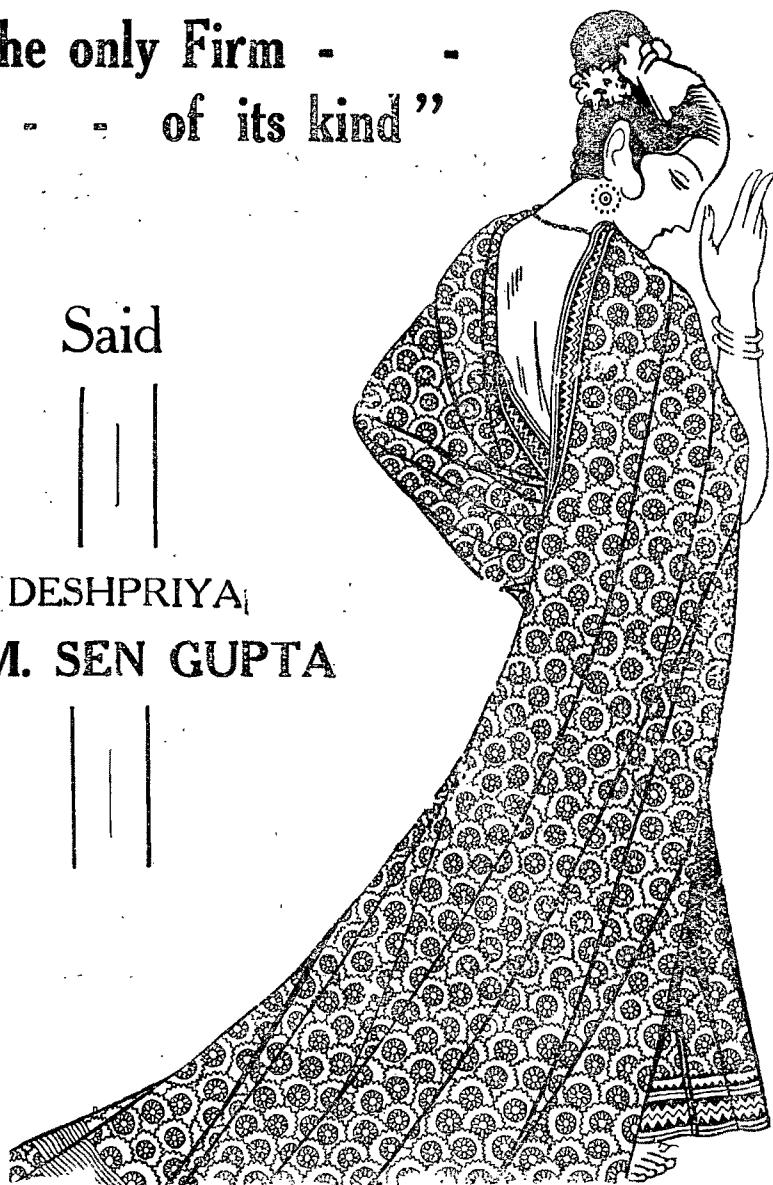
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[No. 2

DEMOCRACY—A DEFENCE FROM SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

PROF. SOBHANLAL MOOKERJEE, M.A.

It is John Stuart Mill who may be said to have offered a very valuable defence of democracy from the point of view of social psychology. He presents a comparative estimate of democracy and dictatorship on grounds of social psychology. He commends the democratic form of government on account of its highly beneficial effect in producing desirable character-patterns in the individual. Democracy has a great educative value because, it educates the people in public affairs through activities like participation in periodical elections. It creates virtues like self-dependence and self-protection, energises the personality and educates the masses in conducting public administration. It is only in a democracy that the people "hold the means as well as the impulse of self-repair". Even a benevolent despotism is harmful to the people because of its adverse effects on human character and personality.

Mill makes another great contribution to political psychology when he points out that the majority in a democracy would become more and more tyrannical when they would feel that "the power of government was their power, its opinion their opinion". He thus correctly diagnoses, as a political psychologist, the dangers of the slow transformation of the Majority under a democracy into a ruthless, regimented dictatorship. To prevent this possibility, he suggests the organisation of the second chamber, the opposition party, the electorate with proportional representation for the minorities and the

like. Ford is also perfectly right when he concludes, "In claiming for man a limited degree of free agency in the making of political arrangements, Mill's position now receives strong support from current tendencies in psychology as well as from history, which has ever borne witness that free agency is a real though a limited factor in human affairs."¹

Mill's observations on the psychologically undesirable effects of a dictatorship have been corroborated by most of the modern writers. Dictatorships, Joad observes,² in their attempts to manufacture the mind of man through centralised education, try to develop an artificial unity in the human mind. They rest on myths like the dogma of infallibility or race-superiority. "They tell me that we have no literature now in France. I will speak to the Minister of the Interior about it"—this remark of Napoleon illustrates the dictator's attitude to Art and the plight of Arts under his regime. The dictator wants conformist thought-patterns. That is why it is said that "*Uniformity* is possible to a dictatorship but never *unity*". In a modern monoparty dictatorship, Bertrand Russell points out, "matters are worse than they were in the time of Socrates, or in the time of the Gospels. In a totalitarian State an innovator whose ideas are disliked by the government is not merely put to death, which is a matter to which a brave man may remain indifferent, but is totally prevented from causing his doctrine to be known".³ Thus, suppression of thought through centralist education or, what Barker says, "common cultivation of youth" in a dictatorship,⁴ "is not simply a physical process; it is a psychological process as well". It signifies the stopping of the expression of certain ideas and encouraging hatred to certain ideas. "Under the rule of the dictator, there is no holiday from fear". The dictators "walk, like Macbeth, starting at shadows; the ghosts of the murdered standing at their elbows. They know only too well the hatred that surrounds them as persons and as *regimes*".⁵ Ultimately, when the people in a dictatorship "discover that they have taken shelter under the wrong banner, they discover that they stand deprived of the right to plant a new banner". So they suffer from acute frustration.

¹ *Representative Government*, by Ford, p. 151.

² *Liberty to-day*, by Joad, p. 151.

³ *Authority and the Individual*, by Bertrand Russell, pp. 51-52.

⁴ *Reflections on Government*, by Barker, p. 300.

⁵ *The politics of Democratic Socialism*, by Durbin, p. 247.

Following this psychological analysis of the evils of a dictatorship, modern writers on democracy have all strongly condemned dictatorships. According to MacIver, while democracy tries to build up 'an organic relationship between the State and the community, dictatorships want to cut off the State from the community.'¹ Applying the principles of political psychology in studying the development of mankind, Whitehead observes that modern progressive States are all democratic because, they all accept the most durable principle of persuasion. This persuasive impulse replacing the primitive force is mainly habitual with man and this has been strengthened by the "energising of ideas". "From force to Persuasion"—such has been, in his words, the democratization of the communal life of man.² Santayana also applies the principle of Political Psychology in maintaining that the superiority of democracy rests on the "ethics of compromise".³

The enormous progress of Sigmund Freud's Psycho-analysis and development of character-psychology have enabled modern writers to offer a defence of democracy from social psychology. What is social psychology according to the Freudian writers? Barker recalls its definition as offered by Graham Wallas in a letter written to him. Social psychology is the "entirely practical" behaviour-analysis when the analyst "wants to find out how a normal man will behave in the presence of a given stimulus" and how far, by changing the stimulus, the behaviour of the man can be changed.⁴

Durbin presents his "account of recent investigations into the causes of warfare" with the help of studies in psychology of animals (especially of monkeys) as undertaken by Zuckerman, of children by Susan Issacs, of adults by analytical psychologists and of the primitive peoples by social anthropologists.⁵ From such combined methods of analysis, Durbin shows that the causes of peaceful co-operation are—a conscious recognition of the great advantages of peace through division of labour; the satisfaction found in the mere presence of members of the same species and an appreciation of the claim of others to rights one desires.

After this analysis of the causes of sociability and co-operation, Durbin discusses the psycho-analytical causes of wars, conflicts and other allied socio-emotional disturbances making the factors of co-

¹ *The Web of Government*, by MacIver, p. 225.

² *Adventures of Ideas*, by Whitehead Pelican books, pp. 87-107.

³ *Dominations and Powers*, by Santayana, pp. 370, 382 and 415.

⁴ *Reflections on Government*, by Barker, p. 105.

⁵ *The politics of Democratic Socialism*, by Durbin pp. 37-72 and 261-273.

operation unworkable. Possession of external objects, jealousy for the exclusive possession of something desired by some one else, resentment of the intrusion of a stranger of the same species into their group and frustration and failure in their own activity—these are the main causes of what he calls 'simple aggression' common mainly to apes and children. Anthropologists say that the aggression of primitive peoples and modern adults are not different on the point of ruthlessness. The only differences are that modern physical aggression of adults is a group-activity on behalf of some party or class and that this aggression is rationalised. Disturbances in the nature of the primitive inter-group conflicts exist even in the modern adults through the universal tendency to ascribe to the will of some human or superhuman being the cause of all natural or supernatural phenomena. Such is, for example, the tendency called '*animism*'. Thus the interaction of these psychic tendencies often explain why many of the evils are placed upon one's political enemies.

Durbin now turns to Analytical Psychology which probes deep into the adult-behaviour. It suggests that 'simple aggression' changes into 'transformed aggression' by repression, taboos and other punitive or disciplinary restrictions. But these repressed aggressions are driven underground only to reappear in the shape of more complex aggressions. The boy having a repressed father-hatred on account of too much paternal authority hates, as an adult, all kinds of State-interference. The nature of such transformation of simple aggressions into complex aggressions is explained by psychoanalysts through the terms, *ambivalence*, *displacement* and *projection*. Ambivalence is the existence of two opposite emotions in the same person. The child is ambivalent in the sense that as the source of its companionship, its parent is loved while, as the source of its frustration and penalty, he is feared and hated. Human personality repressed since childhood is thus divided against itself. These divisions fight with each other and explain much of human misery and *morbid anxiety*. *Displacement* and *projection* are the major transformed aggressions by which the individual tries to minimise his guilt, anxiety and ambivalent conflicts. *Displacement* is the shift of fear, hatred or some other emotion from the primary to the secondary, and, often, a safer object. Thus it is safer for some one to hate the authoritarian communists than to hate his boss. *Projection* is a shift of impulse when the individual thinks that others are similar to his own unrecognised and unaccepted selves. *Paranoia* or persecution-mania is an example where the paranoiac thinks that the

object he is afraid of, is motivated by his own evil impulses. Most of the political persecutions are by paranoiacs. So also, *projection* of the super-ego is often a cause of wars because, it is a cause of hating any form of government. All these personal psychological maladjustments are exploited by groups which mobilise all such forms of personal aggressiveness. Herein appears, according to Durbin, the value of *micro-politics* and *macro-politics*. "The social scientist must look through the psychological microscope; so must the politician. They will then see the real, but macroscopic, institutions of government and property, party and revolution, with which they deal and must continue to deal, dissolve into a thousand fragments of personal ambition and patriotism, of secret love and hatred, unconscious purpose and need." Aggression and guilt are emotions opposed to tolerance and acceptance of political responsibility respectively. Tolerance and responsibility are the allies of democracy. Where they are absent, democracy cannot survive. Democracy cannot, similarly, survive under a society of masochists who want to get out of their respective individual selves, their 'burden of freedom'. The masochist individual is, thus, driven by an intolerable feeling of loneliness and insignificance. Masochism is, therefore, a type of escapism, a type of slavery to a psychological abnormality and clever dictators will not be wanting who will exploit these abnormalities.

Democracy is government by compromise in which there can be maximum co-operation with minimum frustration. Repression, neurosis and other psycho-sociological maladies are absent in a democracy. Hence Durbin concludes that "the immediate cause of the growth of democratic political institutions in any society is the appearance in that society of certain widely distributed emotional characteristics, and that the establishment and maintenance of democracy is a sign of growing psychological health in any people." To strengthen the democratic order, he suggests a remodelling of '*the emotional environment* in early childhood'. Ideal *emotional education* can create ideal type of personality. Children must be allowed to give vent to their *feelings* of aggression but prevented from *acts* of irreparable destructions. Government must use so much force, but no more, as will stop the frequent and violent aggressiveness. "What therapy cannot cure," Durbin suggests, "government must restrain." He has thus tried to defend democratic institutions and the democratic way of life from the standpoint of *individual psychology*.

Leonard Woolf has chosen the standpoint of *communal psychology* to vindicate the psychological worth of the democratic governments.¹ Communal psychology is defined by him as "the psychology of man as a social animal", or "the ideas, beliefs, and emotions, within the minds of individuals, regarding the community of which they form a part and regarding the relations of individuals to it and to one another; when analysed, it is found to consist of an intricate mass of traditions, customs, beliefs, passions and ideals". The structure of society and communal psychology act and interact. The established civilization or social order sets the mental pattern of the people by determining how they should feel and think in their relations among themselves as parts of the community. But a few minor changes in the established social order or civilization, or the slow penetration of novel ideas and objectives may hit hard the pattern of communal psychology and lead to large-scale transformation of the course of human civilization. Great historical events like the *Deluge*—the first world war—are all to be explained with reference to communal psychology. "To explain the psychology which caused the (first world) war would, therefore, require an unravelling of the complex communal psychology. The last chain in this process of causation is beliefs, desires, aims, and actions of rulers, governments, statesmen, but behind these, moulding or at least influencing them, are beliefs, desires, aims, actions of groups of men in political parties, industrial, financial, and commercial companies, workers' organisations, philanthropic, nationalist or patriotic associations; behind these is the agitated, turbid, uncharted sea of popular opinion. If we are to understand what human beliefs and aims caused the (first world) war, we must understand the relation between the policies and acts of governments, the aims of groups, interests and parties, and the confused currents of belief and desire in the minds of men." The second world war, according to Woolf, raised the same questions as its predecessor did. Both were born out of the ideas of rulers and common men concerning "nationality, hegemony, freedom, democracy, states and governments". Communal psychology, in short, is the reflection of the psychology of powerful groups and powerful personalities or *leaders* of the society. Better mental health of the people in a community is thus a *sine qua non* for a better communal psychology.

¹ Leonard Woolf's *After the Deluge: A Study of Communal Psychology*, pp. 19-38, and his latest book, *Principia Politica: A Study of Communal Psychology*, pp. 15-22, 102-18, 236, 255, 269-70.

and, hence, for a better social order. Woolf significantly suggests that an analysis of the speeches of democratic statesmen proves that "fear plays little or no part in the political psychology of democrats." Such statesmen, no doubt, suffer from the common human weakness of making mistakes. But never do they organise "a large-scale suppression and perversion of facts". "One important reason why they do not do so", according to Woolf, "is that the society in which they live makes it impossible for them to do so successfully. They have no monopoly either of truth or of freedom of speech; they have no monopoly of the power to state and interpret facts."

Woolf frankly admits that he is much encouraged by the researches of Money-Kyrle.¹ Money-Kyrle discusses the philosophy and psychology of social values in a democratic order. Himself a practising psycho-analyst, he tries to explain his illuminating conclusions with carefully chosen practical evidences. What he calls 'the humanist character' and 'the humanist morality',—"the corpus of social values and the belief in them" which has crystallised as 'civilised',—are rooted very deeply into the rationality of the individual mind. "So far as people are normal, in the sense of being integrated, and therefore rational", he says, "they are also humanistic." He concludes, first, that "a humanist character and a humanist morality are attributes of a kind of wisdom which consists of insight into ourselves and others"; secondly, that "humanism and wisdom thrive most easily in the kind of state that seeks to provide welfare without curtailing freedom"; thirdly, that "the main impediment to the achievement of such a state is the political influence of unconscious motives, and that this can only be lessened by becoming conscious of them".

It is but proper not to lose sight of the problem of democracy as presented by modern political psychologists like Durbin, Woolf and Money-Kyrle from the individual psychological standpoint as also from the standpoint of communal psychology. The main point on which they emphasise most is the problem of remodelling the educational system in the State so that children may develop as betterminded citizens through a system of ideal 'emotional education'. In fact, Mill has also stressed on the very important role that the system of education has to play in the cultivation of creative citizenship. In establishing democracy as the ideally best form of government, he seems to be very keen in viewing national character and individual

¹ *Psycho-analysis and Politics*, by Money-Kyrle.

character as the criteria of a progressive civilization. Mill also becomes emphatic on some other points which are not very seriously considered by the social psychologists. He points out the relative character of forms of government and holds that the same set of principles of self-government will not be applicable to all communities and to all times. While democracy is the ideal to be achieved, it must always undergo a progressive growth through successive stages each of which being more advanced than the stage already passed. Mill seems also to be right in viewing democracy as a *total* concept which aims not merely at the preparation of better-minded citizens but also at the all-round reformation of the society, political, economic, cultural. To him, democracy is not simply a concept of political philosophy. As part and parcel of the progressive ascendancy of mankind from primitive force to rational persuasion, it is a way of life worth living and worth believing.

GENESIS AND CURE OF MENTAL DISORDERS.

SARADINDU BANERJI,

Lecturer, B. B. College, Asansol.

In this essay I propose to discuss the origin and cure of mental disorders from Freudian standpoint. We are acquainted with various types of mental abnormalities, such as, insanity, hysteria, nervousness, absentmindedness, unusual fear, ill temper and so on. All these facts ranging from complete insanity to ill temper come within the sphere of mental diseases. In Freudian Psychology, mental diseases have been classified into three categories: (1) Neurosis, (2) Psycho-Neurosis and (3) Psychosis. They differ from one another in symptom and characteristic. But I am not going into that detail of elaborating the differences here. In this essay I shall try to indicate the mechanism by which they develop and also the mechanism by which they are treated and cured.

Now, in order, to understand the origin of mental diseases we must have a clear idea of the early development of the mind. For, most of our mental ill health starts in the early childhood days, in fact, before the fifth year of life. That is why, in order to bring a cure to it we are to dive deep into that early stage of the mind and there the effort is made for undoing it. In fact, psychologically it is true that the child is the father of the man.

The child's development of the mind is actually a development of his psycho-sexual life or what Freud calls his libido. This libido or psycho-sexual life passes through several phases in process of its development known as: (1) Autoerotic phase, (2) Narcissistic phase and (3) Alloerotic phase. In the (1) Autoerotic phase the child has no knowledge of the 'ego' or 'I'. Here the child derives pleasures from his bodily sensations which are not differentiated. (2) In the Narcissistic phase when to a certain extent ego-feeling develops, the child differentiates his various parts of the body and derives pleasure from sensitive parts such as oral zone and anal zone. Now the child looks upon the body as his love object. This is known as subject-love as here the love object is the object's own body. (3) In the last stage of alloerotic development the love is directed towards an object different

from the child himself. This object-love takes two courses : (a) Homosexual and (b) Heterosexual. In homosexual love (of both active and passive type) the child derives pleasures by contemplating love relation with another person of the same sex. In the next phase of sexuality normal heterosexual love develops, *i.e.*, the child begins to love a person of the opposite sex. And the first heterosexual love object for a male child is his mother and for a female child her father. This heterosexual love of the child is known as Oedipus love. The development of a normal self or personality depends on the smooth working of this complicated psycho-sexual mechanism. If this development of the libido is either retarded or fixated at one phase or another it may result in mental abnormalities and sexual perversion. For example, disorder in Autoerotic phase may lead to Schizophrenia etc. Disorder in Narcissistic phase may lead to uncontrollable fear of death, selfishness, lack of love for others etc. Maladjustment in homosexuality may lead to Paranoia etc. Similarly maladjustment in Oedipus love may result in unsociability, hysteria, inferiority complex, undue shyness, and a vague sense of guilt and punishment which obstructs any achievement in life.

Thus we find that mental diseases are due to the maladjustment in early psycho-sexual development of the child. The question is : why there occurs such maladjustment? This may be due to the misunderstanding of the child and also due to his environment. The precepts of the parents play an important part here. Suppose that in the homosexual phase the child wrongly thinks or the parents help him to impart such ideas that such acts are very dangerous, immoral or harmful. Then due to this supposed sense of danger the child cannot enjoy mentally his emotions. The result is that a portion of his self remains starved. But the wishes cannot tolerate this starvation. There is a natural demand for their fulfilment. On one side there is the craving for the pleasures and on the other side there is the sense of danger in facing it. Thus the child is confronted with a dilemma. The child cannot solve it and he tries to flee from it. But how can one fly from oneself? The result is that the child tries his utmost to drive back the unfulfilled desire and with it the sense of danger in the deeper layer of mind and thus to forget them. This process is known as repression.

But the unfulfilled desires never die out in repression. They live a subterranean life in the unconscious. There the conflict goes on between two forces *viz.*, the original wish for fulfilment and the tendency to avoid it for the sense of danger wrongly attached to it.

As the child grows in years the conflict may grow stronger and stronger and if the urge is not sublimated by some unconscious process it may ultimately disrupt the conscious life of the person. This conflict manifests itself in various mental or converted physical symptoms which are pathological in nature. These may take the forms of nervousness, anxiety, depression, unusual fear, obsession, nightmares, insomnia, megalomaniac thought, delusions etc. And in the physical side they may take the forms of complete or partial paralysis, constipation, gastrointestinal troubles, severe headache, backache, asthma and so on. All these symptoms indicate that the person is in the grip of psychic disease.

Now let us look after the cure of it. The treatment that Freud discovered for curing psychic ailments is known as Psycho-Analysis. Psycho-Analysis literally means analysis of the 'Psyche' or mind. But it has a technical meaning for Freudians. It means unravelling the unconscious mind for discovering the cause of the disease, adjusting the complexes and thereby treating the diseased mind. The techniques that a Psycho-Analyst employs in unearthing the unconscious materials are (1) Free Association and (2) Dream Interpretation of course, from the manifest symptoms of the disease the Analyst himself well understands where the cause of the disease lies. But this understanding of the Analyst himself is not sufficient for curing a mental patient. Herein psychical treatment differs from ordinary medical treatment. In ordinary medical treatment it is not, at all, necessary that the patient shall know what are the causes of his disease or make effort for curing the disease. The doctor himself knows the cause of the disease, prescribes medicine and by using them a patient is cured. But the picture is completely different in the case of a mental patient. Here a great amount of psychical effort is required on the part of the patient for effecting a cure of his mental illness. And in order to make that effort the patient along with the Analyst must know the original cause of the disease. As the cause lies in the early life of the person and as it is now repressed in the unconscious, those causes must once again be brought to the consciousness of the patient and he must appreciate them as such. By the association of ideas that is obtained from the patient and by the interpretation of his dream, the Analyst is able to bring before the conscious mind of the patient the cause of the disease. It is shown to the patient that through all his symptoms he is indirectly fulfilling his early unfulfilled wishes. The Analyst helps him to realise gradually that in infancy he only wrongly understood his own emotion

or the reality or exaggerated them. Therefore he should now see the real position and try to contemplate those repressed emotions and enjoy them or modify them to fit in with the social and environmental situations.

The patient's original fear for the desire was unreal. Now, with the help of the Analyst he can see the real position and discarding the fear he in his contemplation goes back to that early infantile stage and enjoys those emotions reviving them in phantasy. As soon as the patient can perform this process his pathogenic symptoms gradually disappear and he is freed from the grip of suffering. This means that the libido which was not properly adjusted in early infancy is now adjusted with the help of Psycho-Analysis and the person regains his normal self or personality.

The process of treatment that have been so easily written in these few lines, is not so easy in practical working out. In fact, it is an arduous task and may require several years in certain types of diseases. It must be remembered also that any and every type of mental disease is not curable by Psycho-Analysis.

Where-as Psycho-Neurotics can be successfully cured by Psycho-Analysis, it is not so effective in acute Psychotic cases. This is what Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose says in his book, 'Every Day Psycho-Analysis' "All types of mental diseases are not suitable for Psycho-Analytic treatment and all persons cannot be successfully Psycho-Analysed."

OBSERVATIONS ON AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

Department of Geography, University of Calcutta

CREDENTIALS AND OPPORTUNITIES

[I have been in the U.S.A. for eight months now as a Visiting Scholar and then Visiting Lecturer in the Universities of California and Chicago, both of which are ranked high in the academic world here. I was also in Haverford College, Pennsylvania, as William Pyle Phillip Lecturer, and in the University of Wisconsin as a lecturer. In all these institutions, I was treated as a Faculty Member and attended a few Faculty meetings, when I had an experience of how academic life is regulated.]

It is necessary to state that my impressions are confined to the Departments of Anthropology, Political Science and Geography. In both California and Chicago, special studies are being conducted on India, in which naturally I became more intimately involved. Hence, the range of interests in which I was involved was of a limited character; and my present observations may have limited reliability.

In the several institutions mentioned above, there are many Indian students; and there were several occasions when I came in contact with them and was able to form some idea about their problems.

I am putting down briefly, more or less in the form of notes, my own impressions about the educational system of America in so far as I have been able to observe it at the higher level.

UNIVERSITIES AND SOCIETY

Post-Graduate studies here are carried on in fundamental as well as current problems. As an illustration of the latter, it may be cited that intensive investigations are being carried on in topics like, (1) the working of democracy in India, (2) results obtained by the Indian National Congress in elections in areas served by Community Development Projects and otherwise, (3) the concept of Socialism as developed by Congress and Gandhian idealists, (4) political ideals and influences of the R. S. S., C. P. I., Hindu Mahasabha, Jana Sangha, etc., (5) the influence of social tradition with reference to economic plans, etc., etc.

As a result of interest in such problems, the State Department of the U.S.A. sends its officers for taking such courses before they are sent abroad. I had, in a series of these seminars, four such students, one of whom had already served as Consul-General in a country of S. E. Asia. All of them were again studying Hindi in the Department of Linguistics, and had earned fair proficiency. Special methods have been evolved here for learning foreign languages within a short time.

University departments or University personnel are entrusted with the investigation of vital problems by the Government of the U.S.A. One anthropologist, for example, was specially commissioned by the U.S. Army during the last war to study the effects of bombing upon German morale, and all confidential information was gathered for him by the secret service.

The point is, great trust is reposed by the Government of this country upon its university men, and responsibilities of a high order are assigned to them.

FLEXIBILITY AND FREEDOM

University courses are not rigidly set for a long number of years. New topics for investigation, both fundamental as well as in applied branches, are easily taken up, and adaptation made in curricula with a surprising amount of flexibility and freedom from year to year.

There is some slowness in this respect in State universities as compared to privately endowed universities. But even in the former, change is much more rapid than in our country. At least, there is no bureaucratic interference ; though there might be bureaucratic or procedural delay.

METHODS OF TEACHING

Seminars and discussion groups, in which *members of various Faculties* are drawn in, are an extremely important feature of academic life. Students, research associates and teachers present the result of their researches in seminars ; and there is an extraordinarily free and democratic exchange of opinions and observations.

Inter-university conferences between teachers having common interests are also promoted by Foundations like Rockefeller, Ford or Carnegie, for the discussion of limited topics. Learned societies also are responsible for such discussions. One teacher commented to me

that sometimes there is a little too much of this. Deeper personal study is occasionally sacrificed for conferences. But the general opinion, and my own experience has been that, although there is undoubtedly some wastage, yet, on the whole, the fact that results are discussed freely, at a professional level, stimulates thinking and intellectual co-operation in a healthy manner. Seminars and discussion groups also help to build up an intellectual companionship between teachers and students.

EXAMINATION SYSTEM

Examinations are held after each Semester or half-year or Quarter according to the arrangement prevalent in each university. Students (Ph.D.) do not have to appear in a comprehensive examination in subjects thus covered at the end of the year. This compartmental method of teaching and examination keeps them working throughout the year. Tuition fees in American universities are very high in comparison with our universities; so that failure entails great economic hardship, for many work outside to pay for tuition.

The Compartmental System is possible here because classes are small in comparison with ours. As an extreme instance, Macalister College has 135 members on its staff, while the total number of students is about 1300. The ratio may be higher in most other places, but not so high as in our post-graduate classes in Calcutta in Arts.

Although all Faculties or all universities cannot be ranked equally high, yet everywhere I have noticed a measure of self-confidence which is of a striking character. In the University of Chicago, I was present during the oral examination of a Ph.D. candidate in anthropology. There was no 'external' examiner. I was treated as a Faculty member, hence 'internal'. After subjecting the candidate to a tough, but sympathetic, cross-examination, the members discussed his strong and weak points without reservation, and finally arrived at a decision. Self-reliance, and the responsibility of maintaining a high standard, were clearly in evidence.

The exclusive reliance on 'internal' examiners has one disadvantage. This leads to greater inequality in standards of examination between various universities. In employment, Ph.D.'s of different universities are naturally treated with some amount of difference; for the academic reputation of universities and of special faculties in them is more or less well known throughout the U.S.A. Non-official evaluation reports have also been published in this respect. Students

seeking admission in post-graduate classes from one university to another, might have to fulfil certain requirements *de novo*.

INDIAN STUDENTS AND CONDITIONS AT HOME

The majority of Indian students come to secure Ph.D. degrees here. The reason probably is that a Ph.D. of even the best Indian university is likely to be rated lower in the employment market in India than one from *any* 'foreign' university, irrespective of the location or character of the latter. Apparently, after Independence, this tendency has increased and students have swelled in number. Many of them are not mature enough to really profit by the high standards set by famous university professors here. If mature people, in the prime of their intellectual activity, not those who have reached the peak and are now on decline, are sent to take advantage of the highest endeavours of intellectual life, that might be profitable for India. But to send a large number of students, bent anyhow on securing a passport to employment, or lacking either the ability or the opportunity of adapting their skill to available conditions in India, is both unprofitable and wasteful.

An artificial limitation of dollar credit does not help, as it can be by-passed by either the rich or those who have some private ways of doing so. What is needed is greater respect and greater opportunity and more confidence reposed on university people in India than is in evidence by either society or the state.

It might be argued, *if* University people show a deeper and effective concern about current problems in Indian life, *then* society or the State might treat them better than now. But the process can also be reversed; and added responsibility and confidence evoke finer responses. In the last analysis, freedom is the best condition of growth. It is better to allow men the freedom to err than to restrain freedom for fear of its possible abuse.

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY,
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,
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MILTONIC BLANK VERSE IN BENGALI

AMULYADHAN MUKHERJI

Calcutta University

The innovation and perfection of Miltonic blank verse in Bengali was due to the genius of Madhusudan Dutt, the greatest poet of the Bengali renaissance in the latter half of the 19th Century. No body familiar with the traditions of Bengali verse with its even and smooth flow, its preponderance of rhymes, could suppose that the Miltonic blank verse could at all be naturalised in Bengali. Attempts had been made to naturalise Sanskritic blank verse in Bengali, but even those had failed since it is rarely possible to reproduce the quantitative scheme of Sanskrit metres in Bengali, and in the consequent absence of the characteristic rhythmic effect of Sanskritic versification any experiment to introduce Sanskritic blank verse in Bengali was sure to fail. In Bengali every syllable is practically short, only a closed syllable at the end of a word is usually lengthened to 2 morae just to indicate the space between one word-unit and the next. Accent has little importance in Bengali speech and versification, and traditionally every single line of Bengali verse was a self-complete sense-group and invariably rhymed with the next to constitute a couplet. Could any one hope to succeed in an attempt to introduce blank verse into Bengali under these conditions? And yet Madhusudan tried and succeeded magnificently.

Miltonic blank verse makes use of the popular iambic pentameter as its vehicle. Its peculiar quality is due to several features: first, its metrical variations, which introduce a colour-effect against the background of metrical uniformity, and secondly, its skilful variation of the position of the caesura or the sense-pause. This latter is the most significant feature of Miltonic blank verse, with its verse-paragraphs and enjambed lines, accounting for its peculiar effect, sometimes of "linked sweetness long drawn out" and sometimes its "sublime planetary wheelings."

Madhusudan knew well that the English accentual system was incompatible with the speech habits in Bengali and could not be the vehicle of Bengali versification under any circumstances. But the pause had a very important place in Bengali verse. It marked the end of a measure as also the end of a line of verse, a minor

pause marking off the measure and a major pause the line. A typical couplet had pauses placed as in the following :

rākhāl gorur pāl*niye jāy māṭhe*
śīsu gan day mon*nij nij pāṭhe*

(The symbols * and * are used to mark respectively the minor and the major pause.)

It might be supposed that here was no scope whatsoever for introduction of Miltonic blank verse.

Madhusudan had, however, noticed that at times a major pause occurred between beats within the measure, though this was a rare phenomenon. Here is one instance :

dron balilen* jadi | āmārē tuṣibā* ||
dokkhin haster* br̥ddba | oṅuliṭi dibā* ||

(The symbols | and || are used to mark respectively the end of a measure and of a line, the smaller and the larger metrical unit.)

No body had so far noticed the potentiality inherent in Bengali versification, which was brought out in the instance quoted above. Madhusudan was the first to seize upon it and exploit it to the full. He realised that in Bengali the pause, or, more correctly, the sense-pause or the breathpause need not follow the metrical pattern, and that two schemes—one of metrical unity and the other of rhythmic variety—could be very well associated together in the same prosodic group. In fact the first, *i.e.* metrical unity could be made subordinate to and utilised only as a background of the second, *i.e.* rhythmic variety. One of the things necessary for emphasising this variety was to dispense with rhyme altogether, as the recurrence of the same sound at regular intervals was likely to distract attention from the surge and flow of emotion symbolised in the variation in the position of the breathpause. This new type of verse was actually a new creation altogether, verse with two motifs, instead of one, rhythmic variety serving as a counterpoint to metrical regularity.

In the instance quoted in the beginning of the last paragraph there is a major breathpause at the end of each line, though a major pause also occurs at times within a measure. Madhusudan revolutionised the principles of versification in Bengali by a total divorce between the metrical scheme and the rhythmical, dispensing with any pause even at the end of the line. The lines quoted below will give an idea of the nature and quality of this new type of verse he introduced into Bengali. The vehicle of his verse is the old tradi-

tional metre in lines of 8+6. But across this runs the rhythmic variety symbolising the rise and fall of the emotion. Here is no longer the old motif to reduce all experience to a pattern of melody, but a new one to create harmony out of the complexity of actual emotions of life. This will be evident from a scansion of these typical lines :

Sammukh-samare pari | bir chudamoni||
 bīrbāhu,* choli jabe | gelā jampure||
 akāle,* kaha, he debi, | amṛtabhāṣini!||*
 kon bīrabare bari | senāpati-pade||*
 pāṭhailā rane punah* | rakkhakulanidhi||
 rāghabāri? Ki kausale,* | rākkhasa-bharasā||*
 indrajit me | ~~manāde~~*—~~gajeya~~ jagate—||*
 ūrmilā-bilāsi nāsi,* | indre niḥsankilā? ||*

Here we have all the true qualities of Miltonic blank verse; not merely is rhyme avoided altogether, but the sense is variously drawn out from line to line and the breathpauses are placed accordingly. The minor pauses mark out the smaller sense-groups and these groups are arranged according to a principle of “graded sequence” with a view to symbolising the rush and check of the emotional flow, the major pauses marking the climax of an emotional movement.

Only at the end of the 8th line we have a grand finale in the coincidence of the major breathpause with the end of a verse, and the completion of a thought-movement, the entire series of lines constituting a verse-paragraph. ✓

It must be added here that the metrical divisions indicated above are not merely notional. Each is an impulse-group, having a definite quantitative value, and go to the constitution of a repeating pattern that induces a poetic hypnosis. Where the end of the measure or the line does not coincide with a pause, it is indicated by a vocal drawl, more or less pronounced, and precedes a rise in intensity commencing with the next measure. It is this metrical hypnosis that distinguishes a verse-paragraph from one marked by a prose rhythm.

Though it was not possible for Madhusudan to introduce into Bengali blank verse the English accentual system and the peculiar rhythmic effect produced by Milton’s manipulation of it, yet Madhusudan’s blank verse has qualities besides those due to the variations in the position of the pauses. Besides regulating the length of the

sense-groups, he also regulates their weight by a deft manipulation of closed syllables and consonantal nexus in the words contained in them. Madhusudan's blank-verse is written in the traditional syllabic metre with a vocal drawl, "fittest for discourse and nearest prose" in which as a rule all syllables are short except a closed syllable at the end of a word. When a closed syllable occurs elsewhere, it is shortened to one mora and in the process acquires a special sonoric quality and may be called, in the language of Prof. Jacob, a "centroid" syllable. Madhusudan manipulates these syllables with a mastery all his own to invest the measures with a sonorous rhythm to correspond with the emotional contents. We have instances of it in lines like the following :

(a) saśaṅka laṅkesh śūr | smarīlāśaṅkare

(b) kimbā bimbādhara ramā | amburāshi tale

Lines like these have a glory and freshness that have made them a joy for ever.

B. G. TILAK : INDIA'S STORMY PETREL

KALYAN KUMAR BANERJEE

*Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology,
Kharagpur*

In the course of his speech at the Congress session of 1897 against the curtailment of popular rights by the administration, Surendra Nath Banerjee said, "For Mr. Tilak my heart is full of sympathy. My feelings go forth to him in his prison house. A nation is in tears." Twenty-three years later, when Gandhiji was obstructed while trying to lift the Lokamanya's bier, he observed, "Public men know no caste." Gandhiji lifted it. The bier was, in turn, carried by Dr. Kitchlew and Shaikat Ali. Tilak was much more than a brahmin. He belonged to the nation. His funeral procession saw a nation in mourning.

Born in 1856, Bal Gangadhar Tilak was, for more than a quarter of a century, a stormy petrel in Indian public life. Like many other distinguished Indians of the last hundred years Tilak had a multi-track mind. His intellectual ability was of a high order and he was a scholar of no mean repute. In many things that he said and did Tilak was strikingly original. An extraordinary figure of his times the distinguished Maharashtrian has left a deep impress on the pre-Gandhi era of Indian politics.

THE PRELUDE

Tilak graduated with a first class from the Deccan College, Poona in 1876. He took his LL.B. in 1879 but failed in his M.A. Thorough by nature, he wanted to go to the fundamentals of a subject he might be interested in. He had a good grounding in Sanskrit and in Hindu Law. He had an unbounded knowledge of Hindu society in its different aspects—a familiarity that he exploited to the full in his career as a political agitator. Though public recognition of his grit, tenacity and fearlessness as a fighter came a few years later, the conditions in the country when he was in his early twenties made him into a potential rebel. Chronic famines and the apathy of the administration bred disorder, agrarian revolts and political unrest. In 1877³ millions in India, specially in the south and the west, starved and died and the rulers fiddled. Lord Lytton called an Imperial Durbar to proclaim the imperial title of Queen Victoria. There was a serious

agrarian rising in the Bombay Presidency known as the Deccan riots. A youngman, Vasudev Phadke by name, prepared an armed revolt against the British. He was sent to the fort of Aden by the authorities and there he passed away at the age of thirty-eight in 1888. Phadke was for some time associated with the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, one of the early political associations of India. Phadke preached Swadeshi. Later, exasperated and impatient he preached the cult of violence and armed revolt.

Phadke represented one school of thought (though inadequately defined) in Maharashtra. It wanted to overthrow the alien administration by violence. The other school, more sober, respectable and level-headed, believed in constitutional agitation for political advancement. Gopalrao Deshmukh, an early founder of this school and advocate of the cult of Swadeshi, had asserted as early as 1849 that India would become politically and culturally so strong that the foreigners would have to quit. Political associations did not take long to come up. The Bombay Association was born in 1852. As is well known Calcutta also became the scene of such organised but constitutional political activity. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was established a few years later in 1870. The Sabha established contacts with other such associations elsewhere in India and moved the government on political and economic matters. Besides, in 1873 it undertook an economic survey of the Maharashtrian peasants. In the seventies certain well-known issues like the method of recruitment to the Indian Civil Service, the Vernacular Press Act and the Arms Act, provided the leaders of different regions of India with occasions to organise a common platform. Khadielad Ganesh Vasudev Joshi represented the Sabha at the Delhi Durbar of 1877.

EARLY INFLUENCES

Coming to personalities, Dadabhai Naoroji and Justice Govinda Ranade were tremendous forces in the public life of the Bombay Presidency in this age. Both were moderates in their political views. But their analyses of the different aspects of the Indian situation found ready response in the minds of the young intellectuals. They exposed the oddities of the British rule and generated in the young Indian hearts a resentment against foreign domination. In this connection, Naoroji's *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*, and, Ranade's books on Maratha history deserve special mention. Both had years of very fruitful public service ahead of them, and, Ranade, as the official historian of the Congress reminds us, "was the one

source of inspiration to congressmen on matters economic and industrial."

Mention should also be made of Vishnu Sastri Chiplunkar, an erudite scholar, whose integrity and force of character made a deep impression on Tilak. Chiplunkar's monthly journal, *Nibandha Mala*, wielded considerable influence. Ranade accepted many of the Western ideas in his programme of social reform. Chiplunkar's idea was to reform Hindu Society by an appeal to India's past and religion. They represented, in their own ways, the two conflicting views on the general principles of Indian regeneration.

TWIN FIELDS OF EDUCATION AND JOURNALISM

When Tilak and a few of his friends decided to remain poor and run a school on missionary lines rather than covet easy jobs, they accepted the lead and guidance of Chiplunkar. The New English School was started in 1880, and despite many difficulties and disappointments, had, five years later, a roll strength of 1200. Tilak's journalistic venture also began about this time and the small group that ran the school also edited the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari*. The year was January, 1881. Chiplunkar, Tilak, Namjoshi and Agarkar were the editors. Not long after this Tilak and Agarkar were sentenced to four months' imprisonment, since in the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, a defamatory propaganda had been carried on against Barve, the minister of the Kolhapur State who was suspected of having intrigued with the British Resident to oust the Maharaja. The *Mahratta* and the *Kesari* were not alone in the field. But what were taken for the private letters of Barve by the Bombay Press and the public were proved to be a forgery. Anyway, public opinion was hardening against the administration and Tilak had become a hero.

A venture with which Tilak was closely associated towards the end of 1884 was the foundation of the Deccan Education Society. The Board of management resolution was moved by him, and it included among others Sir William Wedderburn and Justice Telang. The role of the society in the development of educational life and policies in western India is of great import in the annals of modern India. Next year was founded, in Bombay again, the Indian National Congress. Tilak did not become associated with Congress before 1889. By then his position in the Education Society has become somewhat difficult. The journals and the society had common promoters. The Education Society because of its ideas and success was favoured by the Government, and, it had to depend on government support and patronage.

The *Mahratta* and the *Kesari* were critical of the government's policies in the context of general administration. The press was separated. But that was not the end of the story. Tilak maintained to the annoyance of the members of the society that there was a deviation from the original ideas of selfless service and singleness of purpose. He took exception to Gopal Krishna Gokhale's acceptance of the secretaryship of the Sarvajanik Sabha in June, 1890. Internal differences raised their heads. Tilak was censured and it was said that he himself was guilty of having participated in the work of the Congress.

THE AGE OF CONSENT BILL

Tilak was increasingly led into the vortex of public life. He attended the Bombay Provincial Conference and the Bombay session of the Congress (1889) where he moved an amendment to the resolution on the expansion and reform of Legislative councils. Moving of resolutions and amendments was to him a very tame affair. He wanted a lever with which he could mobilise public opinion and start a tearing agitation. The Age of Consent Bill gave Tilak an opportunity. Social reform programmes were then in the air. The movement that had been started by modernists like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and accepted by a large section of the English educated people was gathering momentum everywhere. From Bombay to Calcutta there were attempts to rationalise Hindu religion and society. No one would question the sincerity of the reformers. They underrated, however, the strength of Hindu orthodoxy. They also failed to realise that a programme of drastic social reform might not be accepted by a community educationally backward. The approach of a social or religious reformer to the problem of change was likely to be different from that of a politician. With him political advancement would be of primary importance, social reform a secondary issue.

TILAK--NO REACTIONARY

The Age of Consent Bill became an Act in 1891 in the teeth of public opposition. The marriageable age of the Indian girls was raised from ten to twelve. Tilak lent his support to the opposition through the columns of the *Kesari* and from the public platform. The controversy provided him with an occasion. He denounced the government for its policy of imposition and interference. He criticised the reformers and castigated those whose professions were at variance with their practices in matters of social reform. Keshab

Chandra Sen was guilty of violating his own precepts in respect of the marriage of his daughters. Ranade, an advocate of widow remarriage, had as his second wife (on the death of the first) a virgin, and, as D. G. Karve observes, "the supporters of widow remarriage were wroth."

Tilak's attitude was clear. To him social reform programme should be evolutionary. What was required was a stirring of the social conscience, not the threat of law. There was much sense in what he said. In the initial stage of the controversy he suggested that 16 and 20 should be the lower age limits for marriage for girls and boys. He did not marry off his daughters before they were sixteen. He deprecated child marriage and advocated widow remarriage. He was neither a reactionary, nor a non-reformist. Nor do we see in him "the existence of a thoroughly reactionary attitude towards social reform, side by side with the modern spirit of national revolution". But his plea in matters of social reform was for gradualness and persuasion. Sometime in June, 1892, he wrote in the *Kesari*, "Now, if people are willing to accept political reforms in a spirit of conciliation and compromise, we fail to understand why we should proceed with social reform in a defiant manner."

ALIGARH MOVEMENT

At the Nagpur session of the Congress (1891) Tilak made a profound impression. He moved the resolution on the Arms Act. His reputation had travelled beyond his province. His extremism was taking shape. Tilak had started on his career. Meanwhile important developments were taking place. The Congress which included a good number of muslims was pressing its case for political reforms. Charles Bradlaugh tried to interest Parliament in the issue of Indian political reforms. Theodore Beck, Principal of the Aligarh Muslim College, spoke with a different voice. He tried to mobilise muslim opinion against the Congress stand. He raised the bogey of a perpetual Hindu majority and declared that the Parliamentary system was most unsuited to India. Beck referred to two agitations in the country. The Indian National Congress was directed against the British; the anti-cow-slaughter movement was aimed against the muslims. He referred to communal tension and pleaded for 'Anglo-Muslim Collaboration'. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was not positively hostile to a policy of friendship with the Hindus. But conscious of the social, economic and political inferiority of the Indian muslims, he also held that his community should come under the

wings of the administration. This new trend was not immediately very powerful. But the seeds had been sown.

GANAPATI AND SHIVAJI FESTIVALS : TILAK'S IMPRISONMENT

The Ganapati festival belongs to this period. Tilak's primary aim in this matter was to bring about a Hindu consolidation and to rouse in Hindu minds a feeling of nationalism. Ganapati societies were organised in different parts of the Deccan. By the beginning of the 20th century the festival assumed a national character and became an agency for mass education in patriotism and political propaganda. The authorities were not naturally happy about the festival. Tilak also revived the memory of Shivaji with the same end in view. The first public meeting held in this connection was attended by the notable chiefs of the Maratha states and the leading Jagirdars and Inamdars of the Deccan. A mammoth meeting was subsequently held in December, 1895 at Poona, venue of the Congress. The meeting was addressed, among others by Surendra Nath Banerjea and Madan Mohan Malaviya. The reverberations of the Shivaji movement were heard in different parts of the country. The movement had its repercussion on the political career of its author. It was Tilak's articles on Shivaji festival in the *Kesari* and 'Shivaji's Utterances' in the same journal (June, 1897) that brought about his prosecution.

On the night of 22nd June, 1897 the Plague Commissioner Rand and Lt. Ayerst were killed. The Anglo-Indian Press and public opinion attacked Tilak and insinuated that there was a connection between the cult of Shivaji and Tilak's writings on the subject in the *Kesari*, on the one hand, and the murders on the other. In Parliament it was suggested that the Indian had incited rebellion against and attacks on the British authorities. Tilak was arrested, charged with sedition under section 124A, and on September, 14, 1897, sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment. This was the second prosecution under this section in India. It had been added to the Indian Penal Code in 1870.

When Tilak was gaoled in 1897, he was already a power to reckon with. The Ganapati and Shivaji festivals had made him a popular and widely known figure in the public life of the country. He felt that he was strong enough to suggest modifications in the Congress strategy. A social conference was an unavoidable adjunct to the Congress session in those days. As early as 1886, Dadabhai Naoroji in his Presidential address at the Calcutta session of the Congress said that social

questions should not be discussed at Congress sessions. The movement for dissociating social reform from Congress gathered momentum on the eve of the Poona Congress of 1895. Tilak's attitude would be clear from what he wrote to *The Times of India*. "The Congress eventually aims at being a congress of the people and the object cannot be achieved, unless every year, an effort is made to approach more and more the classes that have not taken hitherto much interest in the movement. If the masses are drawn to the congress, it is possible that they may not lend their support directly or indirectly to the cause of the social conference." The reformers and protagonists of the social conference group led by Ranade and others offered resistance. Public opinion in Poona was agitated. But in the long run Tilak won. Surendra Nath Banerjea, President of the session, prevailed upon the Ranade group not to have the social conference in the Congress pandal. A convention was broken. This was in keeping with Tilak's conviction that social reform was no condition precedent to national regeneration.

To return to the story of Tilak's imprisonment. The story of Rand's over-zeal and excesses is too well known. Bombay and then Poona were undoubtedly in the grip of an epidemic plague. But the remedy suggested by the Zubbarsust Plague Commissioner and his team was much too drastic for a poor, conservative and uninformed public. Tilak did not support popular obscurantism. But he protected against certain aspects of the Plague operations. The atmosphere in Poona was surcharged with suspicion, fear and emotion. Two brothers Damodar and Balkrishna Chafekar killed Rand and Ayerst while they were returning from Victoria's Jubilee Celebrations held at the Government House. At once the vitriol of the Anglo-India Press in India was directed against Tilak. British politicians joined in the chorus. Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary of State went so far as to suggest that all the trouble in Poona could be traced, 'to a clique, the descendants of those who had ever been hostile to British rule, and never lost any opportunity of stirring up discontent and disaffection against the authorities'.

Tilak was released after about a year before he had served the full term. This was preceded by a representation for his release to the Secretary of State for India by men like Max Muller, whose "interest in Tilak is that of a Sanskrit scholar", Dadabhai Naoroji, Ramesh Chandra Dutt and Sir William Hunter. The release was conditional. In the event of another sentence on Tilak for sedition the remitted period was to be added to it.

SWADESHI, BOYCOTT AND NATIONAL EDUCATION

The political movement in India gathered momentum not long after Tilak's release. His restless energy could be devoted to the cause of his country. Curzon whose viceroyalty (1899-1905) was of tremendous significance in the emergence of a new India, tried to curb the surging tide of Indian nationalism. A man of breathless activity, Curzon was a man of ideas. But he had scant respect for other people's opinions. Within five years he alienated public opinion. His final act, the partition of Bengal, "broke the back of loyal India, and roused a new spirit in the Nation". His administrative measures and educational policies were regressive and, as such, were in direct conflict with the political consciousness of the people. The partition of Bengal became an all-India issue. The slogans of Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education were raised and the last became quite popular in Bengal, Andhra, Central Province, Maharashtra and the Punjab. The bureaucratic repression gave rise to extremism in politics. It also created an atmosphere for the growth of the revolutionary movement.

SWARAJ AND BOYCOTT

In his presidential address at the Banaras Congress of 1905, Gokhale maintained that "the tremendous upheaval of popular feeling which has taken place in Bengal in consequence of the partition will constitute a landmark in the history of our national progress A wave of true national consciousness has swept over Bengal". But the moderates in the Congress were definitely against the spread of the Bengal unrest to other parts of India. The split between the moderates and the extremists led by Tilak and the Bengal leaders was not allowed to come up at the open Congress session. But the sign of the times was there and Minto writing to the Secretary of State in May, 1906 said, "Everybody warns us that a new spirit is growing and spreading over India."

Tilak had grown in political stature and influence. There was talk of his presiding over the Calcutta session of the Congress. The presidential mantle, however, fell on Dadabhai Naoroji to eliminate, according to many, the aggressive Tilak. The Congress of 1906 did not, however, result in a swing backward. The Grand Old man added a new slogan of Swaraj to the existing ones of Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education. Moreover, the Congress in a formal resolution expressed the opinion that, the boycott movement inaugurat-

ed in Bengal by way of protest against partition of that Province was and is legitimate”.

During his political tour undertaken soon after the Congress Tilak popularised the technique of boycott as a weapon for attaining swaraj. Boycott was a more potent weapon than arms. Boycott could be made very effective by interfering with the government's collection of revenue or administration of justice. Tilak went still further. He assailed the moderates by holding that there was a great difference between asking and petitioning. He cited the instances of Ireland, Russia and Japan and talked of solid force. His call was a call to action.

EXTREMISM AND SURAT

The extremists and the moderates had a head on clash at the Surat Congress of 1907. The Congress was to meet at Nagpur. But since Nagpur was the extremist's fort the venue was changed to Surat which was a moderate stronghold. Tilak and the Nationalists as the extremists styled themselves apprehended that the little 'fire' there was in the proceedings of the last Congress would be quenched at Surat. The nationalists were upset by the publication, a few days before the Congress session, of a list of subjects likely to be discussed by the Congress. The list excluded self-government, boycott, and national education—topics that had received great attention at the Calcutta Congress. At a public meeting at Surat on December 23, 1907 Tilak said, “The Congress is an organisation of all people and the voice of the people ought to predominate. The policy of the moderates is destructive. I don't want you to follow it ; we want to progress.”

Excitement mounted up. There was more evidence of deliberate attempts to tone down the resolutions of the previous year. The nationalists agreed to accept Dr. Rashbehary Ghose as the President on condition that Gokhale and his group consented not to water down the Calcutta resolutions. The negotiations were not fruitful. Feelings ran high. The nationalist felt that Dr. Ghose's election was not in order. Tilak wanted to speak. He was prevented. But he persisted in his attempts. In the general confusion that followed a shoe hurled from amongst the delegates, “grazed Surendra Nath Banerjea and bit Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta”. This was followed by a general *melee* and rowdiness. The next day the moderates organised a convention and fixed a constitution for the Congress. The nationalists were excluded. Gokhale and Tilak parted company. For

several years to come the extremists and the moderates would pursue their own courses.

The period that witnessed the rise and growth of the two well-defined groups in the national Congress was also the time when violence and the bomb made their appearance in India. The partition of Bengal created a feeling of desperation. The manner in which the moderates hounded the extremists out of the Congress and pursued a policy of placating the government made the radicals lose faith in Congress leadership. Constitutionalism lost its appeal for the young radicals. Revolutionary secret societies sprang up in India and abroad. Bengal, Punjab and Maharastra became the storm centres. Revolutionary organisations were born in London, Paris and San Francisco. The government pursued a repressive policy. The revolutionaries accepted the challenge. Late in April, came the Muzaffarpur outrage with which were associated Kshudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki. The two revolutionaries did not succeed in their objective. But Bose and Chaki became legends.

“THE COUNTRY’S MISFORTUNE”

Tilak did not approve of this new development in Indian politics. He did not favour repression also. He urged the government to reorient its outlook and policy towards a new resurgent India. “Will the terrible occurrences at Muzaffarpur rivet Lord Morely’s attention to the grievance about the partition of Bengal?” he asked. He held the unimaginative policy of the administration responsible for the appearance of the bomb. In the leading article entitled “The Country’s Misfortune” in the Kesari of May 12, 1903, Tilak said, “We on our part, do not think that our duty ends with condemning the Muzaffarpur outrage. We regret the occurrence but we are of opinion that so long as the causes which gave rise to it are allowed to remain, it will be impossible to prevent its repetition. It lies entirely in the hands of the government to prevent the growth of nihilism in India. Reform in the administration is the only way to kill this new Upas tree, and if the powers that be are not disposed to resort to that remedy, nothing can be more unfortunate. If the authorities fail to read the signs of the times, what can we do? Tilak enjoyed immense popularity then. The government waited for an adequate opportunity. His comments and exhortations in the Kesari were carefully noted and analysed. Tilak was arrested in Bombay in June 24, 1908. Almost simultaneously

his Poona residence and the press were searched and 63 documents seized.

M. A. Jinnah was Tilak's counsel. Davar who was Tilak's counsel in 1897 was now Justice Devar. He tried Tilak in 1908 and rejected the defendant's bail application. The official circles were bent on silencing Tilak. The Viceroy, Lord Minto was keen that the Bombay Government should prosecute the nationalist leader. A suggestion came from another high quarter that not only should Tilak be imprisoned but the *Kesari* whose circulation of 20,000 copies was formidable for India, should be suppressed. It was hinted that the moderates would approve of Tilak's overthrow. The government did not want to take chances and most was made of another leading article in the *Kesari* dated June 9. In this, Tilak warned the administration against the increasing appeal of the cult of the bomb. He maintained that the manufacture of bombs had become comparatively easy and compared the Bengal bombthrowers with the Portuguese patriots who assassinated the tyrannical Don Carlos and with the Russian revolutionaries. Once again he said that "the grant of important rights of *Swarajya* is the only means to get rid of the bomb in India".

TILAK GAOLED

In a 21 hours speech before the court in self-defence, Tilak upheld the liberty of the Press but decried the misuse of this liberty by the Anglo-Indian press in India. He made copious reference to English judgments in his support. Refuting the suggestion that he welcomed the cult of the bomb, the nationalist leader maintained that he condemned the cult, but he equally condemned the policy of repression. Very rightly he demanded a Maratha-speaking Jury and questioned the authenticity of the English translations of his articles at some points. Tilak "the man whom the government most feared" was sentenced to six years' transportation and a fine of Rs. 1,000 on 22nd July, 1908. He was first put in the Sabarmati jail, and, then in September was taken to Mandalay in Burma.

The sentence against Tilak infuriated a large section of the Indian press and public opinion. There was a general strike of the Bombay textile workers—"the first political action of the Indian proletariat, and hailed by Lenin at the time as a portent of the future". In England too there was no chorus of approval. The *Manchester Guardian* in an outspoken comment suggested that the

sentence would be interpreted in India, "as a proof that the government had resolved by hook or by crook to remove him from their path". Several papers including the *London Times* paid glowing tributes to the incarcerated leader and appreciated the unbounded popularity and authority in India's public life, of the "thinker and fighter in one".

NO ALTERNATIVE TO BRITISH RULE—GOKHALE

Tilak's absence from the arena of Indian politics took away the salt from the country's public life. The Congress sessions dominated by the moderates became extremely tame and colourless. The spirit of loyalty was very much in evidence. Gokhale's considered view in 1909 was, "that there was no alternative to British rule, and could be none for a long time". The revolutionary secret societies both in India and abroad carried on their activities. Shyamji Krishna Varma, a conspicuous figure among the revolutionaries abroad edited in London, *the Indian Sociologist*. But very little was known about these revolutionists in India then. The nationalists were under a cloud. Many of them were deported without trial. Of the two Bengali associates of Tilak, Bepin Chandra Pal was away in Europe, and Aurobindo Ghosh was living in Pondicherry. Nehru sums up the situation: "Towards the end of 1912," says he, "India was politically very dull. Tilak was in gaol, the extremists had been sat upon and were lying low without any effective leadership. Bengal was quiet after the unsettling of partition of the province, and, the moderates had been effectively 'rallied' to the Minto-Morley scheme of councils."

THE LIBEL SUIT

Tilak was released in June, 1914. The defamation case against Sir Valentine Chirol and the developments in Indian politics kept him busy for the next five years. Chirol in his *Indian Unrest* published in London in 1910 had made slanderous attacks on the Indian leader and maintained that he was closely associated with some of the political murders since the Rand episode. Tilak filed a civil suit in England. The case dragged on for several years. Right from the beginning the government created all sorts of difficulty in the way of Tilak, whereas, Chirol who had written his book largely at the instance of the government of Bombay received considerable official help.

Tilak had to be away in England for sometime in connection with the litigation. He had, therefore, to decline the Presidentship of the Delhi session of the Congress (1918). Judgment was delivered on February 21, 1919. Tilak lost the case and was directed to pay costs to Chisolm. At a public meeting held in Bombay on May 31, Gandhi moved the following resolution: "That this meeting puts on record its appreciation of the selfless and devoted services rendered by Lokmanya Tilak to the motherland during the last 40 years of his life, and calls upon his countrymen to generously contribute to the Tilak Purse Fund, started with the object of defraying the expenses incurred by him in the prosecution of a case which was undertaken by him purely in the public interest."

TILAK AND EXTREMISTS FORGE AHEAD

To come back to the Indian political scene. Very soon after Tilak's release the question of the extremists' re-entry into the Congress was broached. Gokhale did not totally disavour the idea. Mrs. Annie Besant tried to bring about a reconciliation. Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta was against compromise with the extremists. He passed away toward the end of 1915. This and the death of Gokhale a few months before delivered a stunning blow to the moderate party, Tilak's reappearance and Besant's advent in India's public life brightened the prospects of the extremists. Late in September, 1915 Besant announced her intention of starting a "Home Rule League", with "Home Rule for India as its only object, as an auxiliary to the National Congress here, and its British Committee in England . . .". A few weeks later at the Bombay Congress, the position of the extremists was slightly bettered by an amendment of the Congress Constitution. The Home Rule League idea was not formally accepted by the Bombay Congress. But the controversy it kicked up strengthened to some extent the position of the extremists. The idea of Home Rule for India was certainly a distinct advance on the official political aspirations of India expressed in Sri S. P. Sinha's presidential address. "Even if the English nation were willing to make as an immediate free gift of full self-government, I take leave to doubt whether the boon would be worth having as such, for it is a commonplace of politics that nations like individuals must grow into freedom, and nothing is so baneful in political institutions as prematurity"

HOME RULE LEAGUES

The Indian Home Rule League was founded with Tilak's support on April 28, 1916. The avowed object of the League was "to attain

Home Rule or Self-government within the British Empire by all constitutional means and to educate and organise public opinion in the country toward the attainment of the same." About the same time at Tilak's instance the Bombay Provincial Conference accepted the compromise terms, though inadequate, offered to the extremists by the All India Congress Committee. The Home Rule League expected to have, within a reasonable period, 10,000 members and the extremists who had parted company with the moderates at the Surat Congress now hoped to stage a comeback in Indian politics. They intended to take full advantage of the Home Rule agitation. The agitation put Tilak to trouble. The government wanted to gag him. In July, 1916 he was asked by the district magistrate of Poona to execute a bond and two sureties for his good behaviour for a period of one year. The matter was taken to the court of law. Tilak was defended by M. A. Jinnah and the High Court vindicated him. Two other developments in connection with the Home Rule movement should receive mention. First was the foundation of a Home Rule for India League in June, 1916 in England. Leaflets explaining the Indian case were printed and circulated. The movement was supplemented in England by a large number of public meetings. Secondly, Mrs. Besant started towards the end of the year her own Home Rule League. She had waited till then for the Congress initiative on the demand for self-government but was disillusioned. The two leagues did not go in for rivalry. Central Province and the Bombay Presidency became Tilak's sphere. The rest of India including Bombay city was Besant's charge.

LUCKNOW CONGRESS, 1916

Thus in 1916 the extremist cause had considerably looked up. 1916 in the History of modern Indian politics was important for more than one reason. Tilak and the nationalists came back to the fold of the Lucknow Congress. They had kept out of the organisation since the Surat imbroglio. Lucknow also witnessed the Congress-league entente resulting in an agreed scheme of reforms. The main characteristics of the Lucknow Pact were a joint demand for raising India's status to that of a self-governing dominion, weightage to the muslim community in the matter of election to the provincial legislature and the Imperial Legislative Council and the acceptance of the principle of separate electorate.

At the Congress session Tilak's party was in a minority. But the significance of the nationalists' re-entry into the Congress was

appreciated by all. Ambicacharan Majumdar, President of the session welcomed Tilak and his friends back to the Congress. In keeping with his political convictions and aspirations the great Maharastrian supported the official congress resolution on self-government. The resolution declared that "(a) having regard to the ancient civilisation of India, the progress made in education and the public spirit shown, His Majesty the King Emperor should be pleased to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer self-government on India at an early date ; (b) that as a definite step in that direction the Congress-League scheme should be granted ; and (c) that in the reconstruction of the Empire India should be lifted from the position of a dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self-governing Dominions."

Tilak made a great speech on the occasion. "I am glad to say," he maintained, "that I have tried these ten years to see that we are re-united in this Congress and we are going to put our voices and shoulders together to push on this scheme of self-government, and not only have we lived to see these differences closed, but to see the differences of Hindus and Mohammedans closed as well. Coming to the Lucknow Pact, Tilak said, "It has been said by some that we Hindus have yielded too much to our Mohammadan brethren. I am sure I represent the sense of the Hindu Community all over India when I say that we could not have yielded too much. I would not care if the rights of self-government are granted to the Mohammadan community only I would not care if these rights are granted to any section of the Indian community. Then the fight will be between them and other sections of the community and not as at present a triangular fight."

THE WAR : POLICIES AND PERSONALITIES

The new atmosphere facilitated the Home Rule agitation under Tilak and Besant. Mrs. Besant was interned in June, 1917. Repression only strengthened the cause of Home Rule. The government became panicky. Home Rule Leaguers became increasingly vocal. At a joint meeting of the All India Congress Committee and the Council of the Muslim League in July the question of passive resistance was discussed and an authoritative pronouncement on India's political aspirations demanded. The government apprehended that Tilak had his plan of passive resistance ready. Then came on August 20, the famous pronouncement by Mr. Montagu, the Secre-

tary of State for India wherein the objective of the British Policy was defined as "the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." Mrs. Besant and her associates were released on the 13th of September. The joint meeting of the All India Congress Committee and the Council of the Muslim League on October 6 scotched the idea of Passive Resistance and decided to send an all-India deputation to the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu who was then in India with a "reasoned representation in support of the Congress League Scheme." On November 26, Tilak, Gandhi, Jinnah, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Motilal Nehru waited on Montagu and Chelmsford. The cause of Home Rule was taken up by the Congress. Tilak and the extremists were a great force in the country, and, as Montagu noted in his diary, Tilak "is at the moment probably the most powerful leader in India, and he has it in his power, if he chooses, to help materially in the war effort".

The election of Mrs. Besant as President of the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1917 was a proof of the growing strength of the extremists. She stated India's case for self-government. Tilak, this year also spoke on the resolution on self-government. The question of the National flag was formally raised at this session. But the already popular tricolour Home Rule flag held the field for some years to come.

"NO HOME DEFENCE WITHOUT HOME RULE"

In the meantime the question of the Indian peoples' active participation in the first world war and their willing support to war efforts divided public opinion in the country. Gandhi was in favour of unconditional support to the Britishers. That, he held, would ultimately help India achieve her political aims. Tilak wanted an assurance of Home Rule. Gandhi was invited to and attended the Delhi war conference on April 27, 1918. Tilak, Mrs. Besant and the Ali Brothers were left out—an exclusion, particularly that of Tilak which Montagu regretted. About six weeks later, invited to the Bombay Presidency War Conference Tilak opined that there could be no Home Defence without Home Rule. He was not allowed to proceed further.

The controversy regarding India's attitude to the war was soon drowned by the din of 'political battle' over the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms. The special session of the Congress which met in Bombay late in August, 1918, after a prolonged discussion characterised the proposals as "disappointing" and "unsatisfactory". At the Congress session, Tilak with reference to the proposals said, "we

asked for eight annas of self-government ; that report gives us one anna of 'responsible government'...We now plainly say to the government, 'We thank you for the one anna of responsible government, but in the scheme we want to embody all that is embodied in the Congress-League scheme—the rails might be different, but the carriages that carry passengers might be transferred from one rail to another''. One upshot of this political climate was the withdrawal of the moderates from the Congress and the birth of the National Liberal Federation of India.

TILAK IN ENGLAND

Tilak left for England, as already said, in September, 1918, and came back to India in November, next year. The libel case required his presence in England. His idea was to utilize his time in England to convince British public opinion of the justice of the Indian case for Home Rule. It had been decided a few months earlier that the Home Rule League should send a delegation to England a little while before the Congress Committee made a similar decision. Passports were secured and Tilak addressed mammoth farewell meetings at Bombay, Madras and other places. But then early in May, the passports of Tilak and other deputationists were cancelled. Two months later he was allowed to proceed to England but was asked to abstain from political agitation there. Tilak accepted the conditions but reserved his right to move His Majesty's government on reaching England. He had the conditions withdrawn. Tilak reorganised the British Committee of the Congress which had lost touch with the new radical developments in the Indian National Congress and put more pep in it. He was indefatigable in his efforts to popularize the cause of India. In England again, Tilak could take more interest in attempts for better organised political propaganda in America where also a branch of the Home Rule League was established. The British Government was really worried over this new line of Indian political propaganda.

Meanwhile in India the political situation went on deteriorating. The Delhi Congress of 1918 nominated Tilak, Gandhi and Hasan Imam as the country's representatives to the Peace Conference. The Congress also asked for the recognition of India by the British Parliament and the Peace Conference as "one of the progressive nations to whom the principle of self-determination should be applied. "There was also a demand for the removal of restrictions on free speech, association and movement and the release of all detenus and

political prisoners. A demand for complete responsible government in India was also made. The government was in no mood to compromise. The year 1919 saw a series of breath-taking events in India. The Rowlatt Bills, the Jalianwala Bagh massacre, the Dyer regime in the Punjab, the call for a countrywide hartal and a general policy of repression—vitiated the political scene.

RESPONSIVE CO-OPERATION :

The Amritsar Congress of 1919 met soon after the British Government's announcement on reforms. The reform bill was palpably inadequate. But Tilak who had come back to India, acting on the principle, "accept what is given and fight for more", offered to the government "responsive co-operation" in the matter of working the reforms. At the Congress session itself C. R. Das' outright condemnation of the Reforms Act¹ was slightly mellowed by the intervention of Tilak and Gandhi. Das' characterisation of the Reforms Act as "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing" in his resolution remained unaltered. But Gandhi's suggestion that "...the Congress trusts that, so far as may be possible, the people will so work the Reforms as to secure an early establishment of full Responsible Government of ..." was also incorporated. This was in accord with Tilak's view ... "We will work the Act for the purpose of securing full Responsible Government".

At Amritsar Gandhi had pleaded for working the reforms. Political developments and the mental reactions of Gandhi persuaded him in course of the next few months to talk of a 'new line'. The Congress was hesitant. Tilak founded the Congress Democratic Party to organise the elections. Gandhi was agitated over the Khilafat question and the Punjab wrongs. Public opinion was ruffled over the two questions. In March, 1920 Gandhi indicated his plans of non-co-operation. Public resentment mounted up after the publication of the non-official Report on the Punjab atrocities on March 25 and the announcement of the peace terms with Turkey a few weeks later. Gandhi's preference for non-co-operation and Satyagraha grew all the more.

THE MANIFESTOES

In Dr. Sitaramayya's 'The History of the Congress' the manifestoes (April, 1920)—one in the name of Gandhi who had accepted the Presidentship of All-India Home Rule League (Besant's organisation) and the other issued by Tilak wherein he enunciates the pro-

gramme of the Congress Democratic Party—are put side by side. Gandhi lists Swadeshi, Hindu-Muslim Unity with special reference to Khilafat, the acceptance of Hindustani as the lingua franca, and a linguistic redistribution of the Provinces—as the four causes in which he has specialised. “I freely confess” Gandhi said, “that reforms take a secondary place in any scheme of national reorganisation”.

Tilak's emphasis was essentially on democracy and political work. The Congress Democratic party stood for “the removal of all civic, secular, or social disabilities based on caste or custom. It believes in religious toleration...and supports the claim of the Muslims for the solution of the Khilafat question according to Muslim dogmas and belief and tenets of the Koran”. The manifesto asserts India's fitness for Representative and Responsible Government, hints at constitutional opposition for attaining such a government if necessary, and advocates, among other things, nationalisation of railways, creation of a citizen army officered by Indians, naval, aerial and military education, establishment of a lingua franca, a Hindu Muslim Entente and readjustment of provinces on linguistic basis.

A DEMOCRAT TILL THE LAST

Tilak's end was drawing near. Gandhi and the Khilafatists were more and more intent on the programme of non-co operation. On May 30, the All India Congress Committee decided to hold a special session of the Congress to consider the question of non-co operation. Tilak did not attend the All India Congress Committee meeting at Banaras. He did not live to attend the special session in Calcutta having been snatched away on August 1. How did Tilak view the projected non-co-operation movement? To Gandhi he said, “I like the programme well enough, but I have my doubts as to the country being with us in the self-denying ordinance which Non-Co-operation presents to the people. I will do nothing to hinder the progress of the movement. I wish you every success, and if you gain the popular ear you will find in me an enthusiastic supporter”. They were indeed words worthy of a seasoned statesman, a generous leader and a fervent democrat.

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ON THE EVE OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL NOVEL OR THE NOVEL WITHOUT A STORY

SISIR CHATTOPADHYAY, M.A. (CAL.), PH.D. (LOND.)

Presidency College, Calcutta.

Dorothy Richardson published the first 'chapter' of *Pilgrimage* in 1915. The eighth 'chapter' or volume entitled *The Trap* appeared in 1915. Although Dorothy Richardson had written a good deal about her heroine, Miriam Henderson, readers knew little more about the facts of Miriam's life than they had known in the first volume. But *The Trap* gave us a very important and significant information.

In *The Trap* Miriam is leaving her old apartment and moving into a new one. Even in the first volume she had made allusions to a book which had profoundly impressed her. The book is, however, never mentioned by its name. In *The Trap* we are told:

"Her forgotten book was lying on the table. The book that had suddenly become the centre of her life..... She took it in her hands, felt it draw her again with its unique power," (p. 407).

She is about to move out. The movers have arrived to take away her belongings. But she goes on fondling the book:

"The men could, must, manage without supervision. For the second time, during which they stood listening as though she had not spoken before, she pointed out the things which were to be taken, and sat down with the book." (pp. 467-8).

She fondly handles the book, with 'a red cover' and its name in 'letters of gold,' but she never mentions the name:

"Sitting thus with the book in her hands and her eyes upon the title set within the gold lines of an upright oblong in letters of gold upon the red cover she found herself back within the first moment of meeting it. In the little book-shop, a treasure house opened by the so small subscription. Saw again the close-packed ranks of well-known names, names that had until then, whenever she thought of them, stood large

along the margin of life, and that seemed now, set minutely down upon neat rows of volumes, suddenly uninteresting, irrelevant to the impulse of her search. And then this book, for all the neutrality of its title and of the author's name, drawing her hands, bringing, as she took it from the shelf and carried it, unexamined, away down the street, the stillness of contentment. She could, so long as the men remained, get no further. Within the neat red binding lay the altogether new happiness.

She glanced through the pages of its opening chapter, the chapter that was now part of her own experience; set down at alive, so that the few pages stood in her mind, growing as a single good day will grow, in memory, deep and wide, wider than the year to which it belongs. She was surprised to find, coming back after the interval of disturbed days, how little she had read. Just the opening pages, again and again, not wanting to go forward; wanting the presentation of the two men, talking outside time and space in the hotel bedroom, to go on for ever. And presently fearing to read further, lest the perfection of satisfaction should cease." (pp. 408-9).

The reader is still left guessing. The author gives much data: two men talking outside time and space in a hotel bedroom, neutral title etc. But she never quite mentions the name of the *book* which is of such vital interest to Miriam Henderson. She had made a reference on the second page of the first volume: "Perhaps Miss Gilkes was right . . ." But we are never told who "Miss Gilkes" exactly is. And then Miriam goes on:

"Reading a paragraph here and there, looking out once more the phrases that had thrilled her more intimately than any others, she found a stirring of strange statements in her mind. A strange clarity that was threatening to change the adventure of reading to a shared disaster. For she remembered now, having hung for a while over Waymarsh's "sombre glow" and "his attitude of prolonged impermanence," that she had already read on into the next chapter, that something had happened, so bitter as to have been pushed from her mind." (p. 409).

At last she gives us a concrete thing to fall back upon. The "two men" are Waymarsh and Strather, the "hotel bedroom" is at Chester. Miriam Henderson is then all the time talking about *The*

Ambassadors by Henry James. Miriam tells us more as she goes on with her cogitations :

"This man was a monstrous unilluminated pride. And joy in him was a mark of the same corruption. Pride in discovering the secrets of his technique. Pride in watching it labour with the development of the story. The deep attention demanded by this new way of statement was in itself a self-indulgence.

But the cold ignorance of this man was unconscious. And therefore innocent. And it was he after all who had achieved the first completely satisfying way of writing a novel. If this were a novel. There was something holy about it. Something to make, like Conrad, the heavens rejoice. Perhaps at lunch times, or in rare solitudes, she could go on, get at the whole of the light there was in him. Style was something good and evil. Sacred and innocent." (p. 409).

So Dorothy Richardson finds in Henry James "the first completely satisfying way of writing a novel," and it is to her "a new way of statement," which has "something holy about it." What does Dorothy Richardson mean by all this? Let us pursue this question further.¹

2

In his Preface to *The Ambassadors* in the New York edition (1907-9) Henry James himself gives us a clear idea of this "new way of statement." He avoids the first-person story as "the first person, in the long piece, is a form foredoomed to looseness." Henry James never believed in "looseness" of any kind. So he does not allow his hero, Strether, to express himself, his past, his age and his mission in Europe. He puts the room in a hotel at Chester at the disposal of the three persons: Strether, Maria Gostrey and Waymarsh. James establishes a play of illumination among these three different persons. Thus "the new way of statement" becomes a kind of *mutual illumination*. This kind of mutual illumination cuts across, in a way, both time and space. This is essentially a dramatic method, but in the novel Henry James makes it all the more subtle. From this external illumination gradually the novel shifts into the mind of Strether and his mind illumines the whole revelation of Paris and the mission that has brought him there (it is to rescue young Chad from the unhealthy enchantment

¹ I first came across this idea in Leon Edel's *The Psychological Novel*, Chapter Two section two.

of Europe). And then of course, Henry James leaves everything to the reader.

According to Henry James, *to tell* the reader is to abandon the whole task of writing a novel. James does not *tell*, instead he *shows* by putting us in direct contact with the minds of characters who people his novels. By coming directly in contact with the mind of the people in the novel the reader is in a position to judge for himself—the author need not *explain* anything. James very often keeps himself in the background. He *narrates* very little in the accepted sense of the term. In his later novels almost all that happens is reflected in the consciousness of one or two of the characters. Their minds become “burnished reflectors”, and sometimes the mind of one character reflects the entire story.

Henry James himself characterized this method of “revelation of the story” and illumination of the situation and character through the mind as *the point of view*. He elaborates his theory with great care in the *Prefaces*. He tells us about *Roderick Hudson* (1876) that “the centre of interest throughout *Roderick* is in Rowland Mallet’s consciousness, and the drama is the very drama of that consciousness.” He goes on with his explanation, “the beautiful little problem was to keep it connected, intimately, with the general human exposure, and thereby bedimmed and befooled and bewildered, anxious, restless, fallible, and yet to endow it with such intelligence that the appearances reflected in it, and constituting together there the situation and the ‘story’, should become by that fact intelligible.” this may be taken as a complete statement of the Jamesian technique

Henry James constantly puts the reader in contact with the minds of his characters. The recorded talks of James’s characters are detailed and minute, yet it would be difficult to say how much of these are real in life. No moment in the brain of this or that character is fully transferred to paper. Rather, the recorded thoughts that are before the reader, are pruned, selected, and edited and even interpreted for him. Just as in the dramatic monologues of Browning no matter who speaks at the moment, Bishop Blougram or Andrea, it is basically Browning himself who speaks; similarly, in the novels of Henry James, no matter who is thinking at the moment, the expression of all thought is inevitably in the personal style of James himself. In the Preface to *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881), James comes very near describing the stream of consciousness technique. The Jamesian *point of view* gives us an inner vision of a particular

mind, and we are taken to the realm of consciousness. In James's later novels especially, we are in contact with some mind or other, but very seldom with a whole mind in all its complexity. His purpose is to isolate from the whole stream of consciousness the current he required. He made his novels from the selected and edited thinkings of his people. Yet he is perhaps the first novelist to study seriously the problems of consciousness and its novelistic expression. He is certainly a path-maker, a pioneer for those who came after him and carried the technique to its logical conclusion.

Dorothy Richardson was quick enough to perceive in those early years when she was preparing for her *Pilgrimage* (she was working on this novel long before it came out in print in 1915). This is highly significant because at about this time James's novels were becoming unpopular. This unpopularity was to a great extent due to the new technique with Henry James was endeavouring systematically to make perfect, particularly in *The Wings of Dove* (1904), *The Ambassadors* (1908), and *The Golden Bowl* (1904).

3

In *The Criterion*, July 1924, Virginia Woolf attempted an assessment of the novel under the heading: *Character in Fiction*. In that essay she made a rather startling statement to her Cambridge listeners :

"And now I will hazard a second assertion, which is more disputable perhaps, to the effect that on or about December 1910 human character changed".

On the face of it the statement is about the nature of modern fiction. But there is more to it. December 1910—as Virginia Woolf exactly puts it—was the month when a most important event took place. It was the opening of the then notorious Painting Exhibition at the Grafton Galleries in London, where the paintings of Van Gogh, Gauguin, Matisse, Picasso and above all, Cezanne were exhibited¹. The term *Post-impressionism* was coined on that occasion. Post-impressionism is different from impressionism. "The essential difference between impressionism and post-impressionism is perhaps best explained by the description of the former as an objective outlook which results in the rendering of the image received on the retina, and of the latter as the mental image expressed in accordance with a subjective outlook"². Post-impressionism was essentially a revolt against the naturalism of the impressionists. "It despised representa-

¹ To the best of my knowledge this is suggested for the first time by Professor J. Isaacs in his *An Assessment of Twentieth Century Literature*. pp. 25-6.

² Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 18 1950 ed. p., 320.

tion and gave the artist unbridled licence to amplify and distort the forms of nature, acknowledging no law but the artist's sense of fitness in arranging and organising the contents of his picture so as to express with the greatest possible directness and intensity the material and spiritual significance of his subject—the "treeness" of the tree, as Roger Fry has it, and the "wallness" of the wall. Delivered from all restraint and rules, the post-impressionists were able to proceed by leaps and bounds on their excursions into the realms of *synthesis* and *abstraction*, to the utter bewilderment of a public which accustomed to judging art by the degree of its verisimilitude to nature, were left floundering hopelessly when attempting to fathom the meaning of these startling artistic manifestations"¹.

This then was the *change* Virginia Woolf was referring to in her essay. Arnold Bennett wrote in that same December, 1910 :

"I have permitted myself to suspect that, supposing some one were to come along and to do in words what these men have done in paint, I might conceivably be disgusted with nearly the whole of modern fiction, and I might have to begin again. This awkward experience will in probability not happen to me, but it might happen to a writer younger than me; at any rate, it is a fine thought."

"Fine thought" or not, this did "happen" to the entire younger generation of writers at about this time—and Virginia Woolf was one of the most representative of this group. The concluding paragraphs of her essay, *Character in Fiction*² gives a direct answer to Arnold Bennett and are worth quoting in full :

"Thus I have tried, at tedious length, I fear, to answer some of the questions which I began by asking. I have given an account of some of the difficulties which in my view beset the Georgian writer in all his forms, I have sought to excuse him. May I end by venturing to remind you of the duties and responsibilities that are yours as partners in this business of writing books, as companions in the railway carriage, as fellow travellers with Mrs. Brown? For she is just as visible to you who remain silent as to us who tell stories about her. In the course of your daily life this past week you have had far stranger and more interesting experiences than the one I have tried to describe.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 320.

² Originally this was a paper read to the Heretics, Cambridge, on May 18, 1924. Later on she changed the title of this essay to : "Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown". This is significant. The change must have been made almost immediately. The British Museum copy, marked : Dec. 4, 1924, of the Hogarth Essays bears this changed title.

You have gone to bed at night bewildered by the complexity of your feelings. In one day, thousands of ideas have coursed through your brains; thousands of emotions have met, collided, and disappeared in astonishing disorder. Nevertheless, you allow the writers to palm off upon you a version of all this, an image of Mrs. Brown, which has no likeness to that surprising apparition whatsoever. In your modesty you seem to consider that writers are of different blood and bone from yourselves; that they know more of Mrs. Brown than you do. Never was there a more fatal mistake. It is this division between reader and writer, this humility on your part, these professional airs and graces on ours, that corrupt and emasculate the books which should be the healthy offspring of a close and equal alliance between us. Hence spring those sleek, smooth novels, those portentous and ridiculous biographies, that milk and watery criticism, those poems melodiously celebrating the innocence of roses and sheep which pass so plausibly for literature at the present time.

Your part is to insist that writers shall come down off their plinths and pedestals, and describe beautifully if possible, truthfully at any rate, our Mrs. Brown. You should insist she is an old lady of unlimited capacity and infinite variety; capable of appearing at any place; wearing any dress; saying anything and doing heaven knows what. But the things she says and the things she does, her eyes and her nose, and her speech and her silence have an overwhelming fascination, for she is, of course, the spirit we live by, life itself.

But do not expect just at present a complete and satisfactory presentment of her. Tolerate the spasmodic, the obscure, the fragmentary, the failure. Your help is invoked in a good cause. For I will make one final and surpassingly rash prediction—we are trembling on the verge of one of the great ages of English Literature. But it can be reached if we are determined never, never to desert Mrs. Brown”.

This is indeed the best methodological exposition of post-impressionism in literature. Like the “treeness” of the trees, Virginia Woolf insists on giving us “the Mrs. Brownness” of Mrs. Brown, who is nothing more or nothing less than a representative character, the staple of the novel.

The stream of consciousness method is essentially based on impressionism. The term itself was, however, invented by William

James the philosopher in 1884 and popularized in his *The Principles of Psychology* (published in 1890). "Consciousness, then, does not appear to itself chopped up in bits. Such words as 'chain' or 'train' do not describe it fitly as it presents itself in the first instance. It is nothing jointed, it flows. A 'river' or a 'stream' are the metaphors by which it is most naturally described. In talking of it, *let us call it the stream of thought, of consciousness, or of subjective life*"¹.

According to William James "consciousness" is an amalgam of all that we have experienced and continue to experience. Thought, however light or intense, is part of a "personal" consciousness—every thought is also "unique and everchanging". We are selective in our thoughts, we are selectively focusing attention on certain particular objects or "areas of experience", rejecting some or completely blacking out others. No recurring thought can ever be exactly the same. It is constantly being renewed; and after being renewed it carries with it a freshness and a "new context" in which it has re-appeared. "Experience is remoulding us every moment, and our mental reaction on every given thing is really a resultant of our experience of the whole world up to that date." And William James goes on to say; "Every definite image in the mind is steeped and dyed in the free water that flows round it. The significance, the value of the image is all in the halo or penumbra that surrounds and escorts it." Virginia Woolf writing on James Joyce in 1919 said similar things. "Close to the quick of the mind," and "Life is a luminous halo, a semi-transparent envelope surrounding us from the beginning of consciousness to the end"².—remind us of William James and his description of the psychological problem of the stream of consciousness.

It was, however, Dorothy Richardson, who deliberately and systematically applied this method for the portrayal or rather, the *presentation* of character in *Pointed Roofs* which appeared in 1915. In 1918 May Sinclair, attempted to analyse the novel technique of Dorothy Richardson³, and for the first time applied the term "stream of consciousness" to her portrayal or presentation of the central character, Miriam Henderson, in the novel.

It would not do simply to call this technique "impressionistic". It is indeed "impressionistic" of a sort, but at the same time it goes

¹ Footnote p. 221 in *The Principles of Psychology*, which appeared in 1890. William James mentions in this footnote: "A good deal of this chapter is reprinted from an article 'On Some Omissions of Introspective Psychology' which appeared in 'Mind' for January, 1884." The lines quoted here are from Chapter LX 189th ed. (B. M. copy).

² Virginia Woolf: *Modern Fiction*, 1919 p. 189 (1929 Hogarth Press).

³ *The Egoist*, April, 1918.

much further back than that. This is to be found in the eighteenth-century novelists like Sterne, Fielding and Richardson. *Clarissa Harlowe* was written in letter-form, and Richardson makes a statement in the Preface which is quite significant for our purpose;

“ these letters abound not only with critical situations, but with what may be called *instantaneous* descriptions and *reflections*; as also with affecting conversations; many of them written in the dialogue or dramatic way”.

These are certainly the beginnings or ancestors of the stream of consciousness. Herein we find pointed *close-up notations* as also an indirect record of conversation within the loose frame-work of letters giving the readers a continuous story. Some very good examples of *mental prattle*¹ can be found in the letters that pass between different persons in the novel. Here are some typical ones. *Clarissa* writes to one of her friends reporting her sister's remarks on Mr. Lovelace:

“So handsome a man!—O' her beloved Clary! (for then she was ready to love me dearly, from the overflowings of her good humour on this account!) He was but *too* handsome a man for *her*!—Were she but as amiable as *some-body*, there would be a probability of *holding* his affections!—For he was wild, she heard; *very* wild, very gay; loved intrigue—but he was young; *a man of sense*: would see his error, could she but have patience with his faults, if his faults were not cured by marriage! Thus she ran on”.

This *mental prattle* in which the mind of the character runs on, is very near the stream of consciousness technique. Such things are to be found in the novels of Jane Austen also. Let us take the case of *Emma*. Jane Austen gives us Miss Bates, a “talker upon little matters, . . . full of trivial communications and harmless gossip,” But in her “trivial communications and harmless gossip,” especially the technique followed by Jane Austen, is to be found almost every important ingredient of the stream of consciousness technique—such as:—(a) oblique writing, (b) mental prattle, (c) soliloquy, and (d) internal monologue. Miss Bates is almost an artist in talk—her talk flows on incessantly and some of her sustained talks produce exactly the same effect that the stream of consciousness technique does. Here is Miss Bates in one of her characteristic prattling moods:

¹ I have not found this term used before 1950. It was used by Professor J. Isaacs in his B. B. C. Third Programme talk and subsequently published in a book form: *An Assessment of Twentieth Century Literature*, in 1951.

"I declare I cannot recollect what I was talking of,—Oh! My mother's spectacles. So very obliging of Mr. Frank Churchill! 'Oh!' said he, 'I do think I can fasten the rivet; I like a job of this kind excessively.'—which you know shewed him to be very . . . Indeed I must say that, much as I heard of him before and much as I had expected he very far exceeds any thing . . . I do congratulate you, Mrs. Weston, most warmly. He seems everything the fondest parent could 'Oh!' said he, 'I can fasten the rivet. I like a job of that sort excessively.' I never shall forget his manners. And when I brought out the baked apples from the closet, and hoped our friends would be so very obliging as to take some, 'Oh!' said he directly, 'there is nothing in the way of fruit half so good, and these are the finest looking home-baked apples I ever saw in my life.' That, you know, was so very . . . And I am sure, by his manners, it was no compliment. Indeed they are very delightful apples, and Mrs. Wallis does them full justice—only we do not have them baked more than twice, and Mrs. Woodhouse made us promise to have them done three times—But Miss Woodhouse will be so good as not to mention it. The apples themselves are very finest sort for baking, beyond a doubt; all from Donwell—some of Mr. Knightley's most liberal supply. He sends us a sack every year; and certainly there never was such a keeping apples anywhere as one of his trees—I believe there is two of them. My mother says the orchard was always famous in her younger days. But I was really shocked the other day . . . " (p. 179).

Miss Bates's conversation flows on from the particular to the general and back again to the most personal particular. If we simply do away with the punctuation marks this passage can easily pass as one of Dorothy Richardson's or even Virginia Woolf's.

Or, again, let us take the case of Emma's self-reproach

"The rest of the day, the following night, were hardly enough for her thoughts. She was bewildered amidst the last few hours. Every moment had brought a fresh surprise; and every surprise must be a matter of humiliation to her.—How to understand the deceptions she had been thus practising on herself, and living under! . . . The blunders, the blindness of her own head, and heart! . . . She sat still, she walked about, she tried her own room, she tried the shrubbery—in every

place, every posture, she perceived that she had acted most weakly; that she had been imposed on by others in a most mortifying degree; that she had been imposed on herself in a degree yet more mortifying; that she was wretched, and should probably find this day the beginning of wretchedness.

Mr. Knightly and Harriet Smith!—It was an union to distance every wonder of the kind. The attachment of Frank Churchill and Jane Fairfax became commonplace, threadbare, stale in the comparison, exciting no surprise, presenting no disparity, affording nothing to be said or thought. Mr. Knightly and Harriet Smith! Such an elevation on her side! Such a debasement on his! It was horrible to Emma to think how it must sink in the general opinion, to foresee the smiles, the sneers, the merriment it would prompt at his expense; the mortification and disdain of his brother, the thousand inconveniences to himself. Could it be? No; it was impossible. And yet it was far, very far, from impossible.—Was it a new circumstance for man of first-rate abilities to be captivated by very inferior powers? Was it new for one, perhaps too busy to seek, to be the prize of a girl who would seek him? Was it new for anything in this world to be unequal, inconsistent, incongruous—or for chance and circumstance (as second causes) to direct the human fate? Oh! had she never brought Harriet forward! Had she left her where she ought, and where he had told her she ought! . . . ” (pp. 311-313)

Or, again, let us take the simple description of Harriet's meeting with Elizabeth Martin and her brother. Despite Jane Austen's direct reporting and the use of first person the passage is one of the best examples to be found in Jane Austen's novels:

“ Dear Miss Woodhouse! only think. I thought I should have fainted. I did not know what to do. I was sitting near the door—Elizabeth saw me directly; but he did not; he was busy with his umbrella. I am sure she saw me, but she looked away directly and took no notice; and they both went to quite the farther end of the shop; and I kept sitting near the door!—Oh! dear, I was so miserable! I am sure I must have been white as my gown. I could not go away, you know, because of the rain; but I did so wish myself anywhere in the world but there. Oh! dear Miss Woodhouse—well, at last, I fancy, he looked round and saw me; for instead of going on with her buyings, they began whispering to one another. I am sure

they were talking of me; and I could not help thinking that he was persuading her to speak to me—(do you think he was, Miss Woodhouse?)—for presently she came forward—came quite up to me, and asked me how I did, and seemed ready to shake hands, if I would. She did not do any of it in the same way that she used; I could see she was altered; but, however, she seemed to try to be very friendly, and we shook hands, and stood talking some time; but I know no more what I said—I was in such a tremble!—I remember she said she was sorry we never met now, which I thought almost too kind! Dear, Miss Woodhouse, I was absolutely miserable! . . . and then I took courage, and said it did not rain and I must go: and so off I went; and I had not got three yards from the door, when he came after me, only so to say if I was going to Hartfield, he thought I had much better go round by Mr. Cole's stables, for I should find the near way quite floated by this rain. Oh! dear, I thought it would have been the death of me! . . .” (pp. 134-135)

Jane Austen is indeed brilliant, yet she has her limitations. What she produces is not quite *the thing*. The interior monologues that she produces are not quite up to the mark as they are all individual performances, they do not result in mutual illumination, nor do they contribute to the larger structure. For a structural building-up we must go to Samuel Butler's *The Way of All Flesh*. The whole of the twenty-ninth chapter, in which Theobold, his wife and their boy Ernest appear, is constructed out of the silent and quite independent internal monologues of these three characters. The boy Ernest *muses* in his own way, so does Theobold and his more matter-of-fact wife. The novelist remains practically aloof and allows each of the characters to go his or her separate way in a characteristic way. Butler certainly attains what in modern language may be called a wonderful building-up.

Ernest “. . . . Soon after his father and mother had left him Ernest dropped asleep over a book which Mrs. Jay had given him, and he did not awake till dusk. Then he sat down on a stool in front of the fire, which showed pleasantly in the late January twilight, and began to muse. He felt weak, feeble, ill at ease and unable to see his way out of the innumerable troubles that were before him. Perhaps, he said to himself, he might even die, but this, far from being an end of his troubles

would prove the beginning of new ones; for at the best he would only go to Grandpapa Pontifex and Grandmama Allaby, and though they would perhaps be more easy to get on with than Papa and Mamma, yet they were undrubbably not so really good, and were more wordly; moreover they were grown-up people—especially Grandpapa Pontifex, who so far as he could understand had been very much grown-up, and he did not know why, but there was always something that kept him from loving any grown-up people very much—except one or two of the servants, who had indeed been as nice as anything that he could imagine. Besides even if he were to die and go to Heaven he supposed he should have to complete his education somewhere". (p. 133). His father and mother were travelling in a coach and *musings* separately.

The Father " He is not fond of me, I'm sure he is not. He ought to be after all the trouble I have taken with him, but he is ungrateful and selfish. It is an unnatural thing for a boy not to be fond of his own father. If he was fond of me I should be fond of him, but I cannot like a son who, I am sure, dislikes me. He shrinks out of my way whenever he sees me coming near him. He will not stay five minutes in the same room with me if he can help it. He is deceitful. He would not want to hide himself away so much if he were not deceitful I wish he was not so fond of music, it will interfere with his Latin and Greek. I will stop it as much as I can. Why, when he was translating Livy the other day he slipped out Handel's name in tunes in the 'Messiah' by heart? If I had shown half as many dangerous tendencies

Then his thoughts turned to Egypt and the tenth plague. It seemed to him that if the little Egyptians had been anything like Ernest the plague must have been something like a blessing in disguise"

The Mother " Lord Lonsford's grandsons—it's a pity his name is Piggins; however, blood is blood as much through the female line as the male, indeed, perhaps even more so if the truth were known. I wonder who Mr. Piggins was. I think Mrs. Skinner said he was dead, however, I must find out all about him. It would be delightful if young Piggins were to ask Ernest home for the holidays. Who knows but he might meet Lord Lonsford himself, or at . . . any rate some of Lord Lonsford's other descendants?

I think we have done *most wisely* in sending Ernest to Dr. Skinner's. Dr. Skinner's piety is no less remarkable than his genius My smile is sweet when I desire to make it so. I never was perhaps exactly pretty, but I was always admitted to be fascinating. Dr. Skinner is a very handsome man—too good on the whole I should say for Mrs. Skinner. Theobald says he is not handsome, but men are no judges, and he has such a pleasant bright face. I think my bonnet became me. As soon as I get home I will tell Chambers to trim my blue and yellow merino with” (pp. 134-137)

But Samuel Butler is not alone in this respect. The most successful masters of *building-up* are of course the two great Russians, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky. Their method is more complex, but the effect produced is also much more satisfying. They employ a complex system of searchlights flashed on to the situation or the mood—nothing is too minute or insignificant for the searchlight flash. Here we have real psychological probing. The writers give us narratives in the orthodox manner, but they give us something more and that is significant. Those who object to the technique of the stream of consciousness, often complain that it makes the whole world appear as a madhouse or a pub full of drunken men and women. This is quite so. Modern psychology has however, shown that even in a normal person the mental process at work often makes *associative structure* supersede the *logical structure* and yet remains quite natural. It, therefore, becomes necessary for the novelist to remain faithful or absolutely truthful to reality, however mad or drunk his world might appear to be. A straight-forward or logical narration can never be wholly faithful, absolutely truthful; and such a narrative would invariably involve a certain amount of distortion and even suppression of reality. Psycho-analysis does show that the mind often goes off at a tangent and creates peculiar juxtapositions. The novelist, as an artist, creates his own dream-world and his artificial stream of consciousness, but if he wants to be successful as an artist he must follow the process followed by real life. In his attempt to do so he might appear illogical or even improbable. But life itself and the mental processes of man, have an illogical and improbable look.

Tolstoy is the most modern novelist in so far as this particular aspect of novelistic technique is concerned. The climax in *Anna Karenina* is a consciously contrived affair no doubt, but in sheer beauty and as a novelistic device it is unsurpassable:

"There, it is that girl again. Again I see it all," said Anna to herself as soon as the carriage started and, rocking slightly, rumbled over the little cobbles of the roadway. Once more the impressions succeeded one another in her brain.

'How, what was the last thing I thought of that was so good?' She tried to remember. '*Tuttikin coiffeur*? No, not that. I know—what Yashvin said: the struggle for existence and hate are the only things hold men together.' She mentally addressed a party of people in a coach and four who were evidently going on an excursion into the country. 'And the dog you are taking with you won't help either. You can't get away from yourselves.' Glancing in the direction in which Peter was looking, she saw a workman, almost dead-drunk, his head a swaying, being led off by a policeman. 'He's found a quicker way,' she thought. 'Count Vronsky and I did not find our happiness either, though we expected so much.' And for the first time Anna turned the glancing light in which she was seeing everything upon her relations with him, which she had hitherto avoided thinking about. What did he look for in me? Not love so much as the gratification of his vanity.' She remembered his words, the expression of his face, like a faithful setter's, in the early days of their liaison. And everything now confirmed that, 'Yes, in him there was a triumph over a success for his vanity. Of course there was love too, but the chief element was pride of success. He gloried in me. Now that is past. There is nothing to be proud of—nothing to be proud of, only ashamed. He has taken from me everything he could, and now I am of no more use to him. He is tired of me and is trying not to act dishonestly towards me. Only yesterday he blurted out that he wants divorce and marriage so as to burn his boats. He loves me but how? The *zest* is gone. She said to herself in English. 'That fellow wants everyone to admire him, and is very well pleased with himself,' she thought, looking at a ruddy-cheeked clerk riding by on a hired horse. 'No, there's not the same flavour about me for him now. If I leave him, at the bottom of his heart he will be glad.'

And the chapter closes thus :

" 'There,' she said to herself, looking in the shadow of the trench at the mixture of sand and coal dust which covered

the sleepers. 'There, in the very middle, and I shall punish him and escape from them all and from myself.'

She wanted to fall half-way between the wheels of the front truck which was drawing level with her. But the red bag which she began to pull in from her arm delayed her, and it was too late: the truck had passed. She must wait for the next. A sensation similar to the feeling she always had when bathing, before she took the first plunge, seized her and she crossed herself. The familiar gesture brought back a whole series of memories of when she was a girl, and of her childhood and suddenly the darkness that had enveloped everything for her lifted, and for an instant life glowed before her with all its past joys. But she did not take her eyes off the wheels of the approaching truck. And exactly at the moment when the space between the wheels drew level with her she threw aside the red bag and drawing her head down between her shoulders dropped on her hands under the truck, and with a light movement, as though she would rise again at once, sank on to her knees. At that same instant she became horror-stricken at what she was doing. 'Where am I? What am I doing?' 'Why?' she tried to get up, to throw herself back, but something huge and relentless struck her on the head and dragged her down on her back. 'God forgive me everything!' she murmured, feeling the impossibility of struggling. A little peasant muttering something was working at the rails. And the candle by which she had been reading the book filled with trouble and deceit, sorrow and evil, flared up with a brighter light, illuminating for her everything that before had been enshrouded in darkness, flickered, grew dim and went out for ever." (pp. 795-802, Penguin ed.)

Dostoevsky's portrayal of Raskolnikoff's reactions as he decides to confess his guilt and face the consequences, in *Crime and Punishment*, is also a superb example of the technique of the stream of consciousness long before it had assumed that name:

"... He did not even take leave of her, he had forgotten her. Only one thought was supreme at this moment: "Is the game really up?" he asked himself on going downstairs. "Is there no possibility of retracting, of making everything right, and of keeping away from there?"

Nevertheless he went on, understanding suddenly that the hour for hesitating was past. Once in the street, he re-

membered that he had forgotten to bid Sonia good-bye, how she had stood stock-still in the middle of the room, how a word of his had almost glued her to the spot. He then asked himself another question which had been haunting his mind for some moments without assuming full shape: "Why did I make that call at all? I told her I came on business. What business? I have absolutely none whatever. Did I call to tell her I loved her? Nonsense! Why, I have just pushed her aside like a veritable cur! And as to her cross, what do I want with it? Oh, how I have degenerated! No, what I wanted were her tears; what I wanted was to see the anguish of her heart! Perhaps by calling I only wanted to gain time, to delay the fatal moment a little longer! And I have positively dared to think of a lofty destiny, I have fancied myself called to bring about great things—I, who am so vile, wretched and cowardly!

He was advancing along the canal-bank, and had not much further to go; but on reaching the bridge, he stopped his progress for a moment, then quickly moved to the Hay-market. His looks wandered eagerly from right to left: he strove to examine every object within view, without being able to concentrate his attention on anything. "In a week, in a month," he thought, "I shall again be crossing this bridge—a prison-van will be taking me somewhere; how shall I then contemplate this canal? Shall I notice that signboard? The word 'Company' is written on it; shall I read it in the same way I do to-day? What will my feelings and my thoughts be like? How trumpery my anticipations are! The matter is interesting in a way—what am I going to distress myself about? I am behaving like a child. I am posing, as it were, to myself; and yet, why should I blush at any thoughts? Look at that crowd! That fat fellow—a German, I should think—who has just knocked up against me; does he know what kind of man he has come into contact with? That woman who is leading a child and asking alms thinks me perhaps happier than herself. Strange! I ought to give her something, if only for the curiosity of the thing. Bah! I happen to have five kopecks by me, for a wonder. Here *matouchka*. (pp. 435-436 *Everyman's*).

Raskolnikoff rattles on like this till he gets into a police station and quietly confesses that he is the murderer of the old lady, the money-lender, and her sister.

This is indeed *psychological probing* at its best. But it should be noted that this is merely the unspoken speech and that it is Dostoevsky, the novelist, who gives us the reflections of Raskolnikoff. We have here a narrator's report of what is happening in the mind of Raskolnikoff and not the flowing stream of consciousness itself. There lies a great difference. The soliloquies of Hamlet or Othello are similar things in which Shakespeare gives us wonderful but highly organized monologues. These have been called "the end-products" of the stream, not the stream itself—flowing, illogical and disordered. Lady Macbeth's performances in the sleep-walking scene is nearer to the real stream of consciousness, yet it is not what we have come to know of it in James Joyce or Virginia Woolf. But it is certainly nearer. The element of discontinuity and a seeming mixture of the relevant and the irrelevant are of course characteristics of the stream of consciousness technique.

Wyndham Lewis in *Blast* (1914), was spreading the *expressionist* doctrine and his novel *Tarr* contained much of this *expressionist* element. Wyndham Lewis criticised Joyce's methods vigorously and drew our attention to "the staccato accents" of Mr. Jingle in the *Pickwick Papers*, which he said had a lot to do with Joyce's Leopold Bloom. These two passages are typical of Mr. Jingle's staccato accents:

" 'How you run on!' said Rachel.

'Run on—nothing to the house, days, weeks, months, years, when we're united—run on—they'll fly on—bolt—mizzle steam-engine—thousand-horse-power—nothing to it.'

'Can't—can't we be married before to-morrow morning?' inquired Rachel.

'Impossible—can't be—notice at the church—leave the licence to-day—ceremony come off to-morrow.'

'I am so terrified, lest my—lest my brother should discover us' said Rachel.

'Discover—nonsense—too much shaken by the breakdown—besides—extreme caution—gave up the post-chaise—walked on—took a hackney-coach—came to Borough—last place in the world that he'd look in—ha! ha!—capital notion that—very.' "

(p. 139).

“ ‘ Well,’ said Perker, ‘ don’t you know that gentleman?’

‘ Good reason to,’ replied Jingle, stepping forward.

‘ Mr. Pickwick—deepest obligations—life preserver—made man of me—you shall never repent it, Sir.’

‘ I am happy to hear you say so,’ said Mr. Pickwick.

‘ You look much better.’

‘ Thanks to you, sir—great charge—Majesty’s fleet—un-wholesome place—very,’ said Jingle, shaking his head.

‘ Not lost.’ said Jingle hastily. ‘ Pay it all—stick to business—cash up—every farthing. Yellow fever, perhaps—can’t help that—if not—Here Mr. Jingle paused, and striking the crown of his hat . . . sat down.’ (pp. 759-760).

But the similarity of Jingle and Bloom is only superficial. The female characters in Dickens, such as Mrs. Nickleby or Mrs. Lirriper, with their mental prattle had most probably exercised a greater influence on the stream of consciousness technique. Mrs. Nickleby’s reverie of ambition is a very fine passage :

“ ‘ Mrs. Nickleby had not felt so proud and important for many a day, as when, on reaching home she gave herself wholly upto the visions which had accompanied her on her way thither. Lady Mulbery Hawk—that was the prevalent idea. Lady Mulbery Hawk!—On Thursday last, at St. George’s Hanover Square, by the Right Reverent the Bishop of landoff, Sir Mulbery Hawk, of Mulbery Castle, North Wales, to Catherine, only daughter of the late Nicholas Nickleby, Esquire, of Devonshire. ‘ Upon my word?’ cried Mrs. Nickleby, ‘ it sounds very well.’

Having despatched the ceremony, with its attendant festivities to the perfect satisfaction of her mind, the sanguine mother pictured to her imagination a long train of honours and distinctions which would not fail to accompany Kate in her new and brilliant sphere. She would be presented at court, of course. On the anniversary of her birthday, which was upon the nineteenth of July ‘ at ten minutes past three o’clock in the morning, (*thought Mrs. Nickleby in a parenthesis for I recollect asking what o’clock it was,*) Sir Mulbery would give a great feast to all his tenants, and would return them three and a half per cent. on the amount of their last half-year’s rent, as would be fully described and recorded in the fashion-

able intelligence, to the immeasurable delight and admiration of all the readers thereof

With such triumphs of aerial architecture did Mrs. Nickleby occupy the whole evening after her accidental introduction to Ralph's titled friends; and dreams, no less prophetic and equally promising haunted her sleep that night . . ' (p. 330).

"In a parenthesis"—thought in a parenthesis is the basis of Virginia Woolf's parenthetical method in her novels; "aerial architecture"—this has also something to do with the stream of consciousness technique. But Dickens comes nearest to this method in his much-neglected masterpiece, *Mrs. Lirriper's Lodgings*. In this remarkable book we find comic prattle at its best and it is quite likely that James Joyce modelled his Mrs. Bloom on her. Here is a typical passage from the chapter: *How Mrs. Lirriper Carried on the Business*:

" . . . A good-looking black-eyed girl was Caroline and a comely-made girl to your cost when she did break out and laid about her, as took place first and last through a new-married couple come to see London in the first floor and the lady very high and it was supposed not liking the good looks of Caroline having none of her own to spare, but anyhow she did try Caroline though that was no excuse. So one afternoon Caroline comes down into the kitchen flushed and flushing, and she says to me "Mrs. Lirriper that woman in the first has aggravated me past bearing," I says "Caroline keep your temper," Caroline says with a curdling laugh "Keep my temper?" You're right Mrs. Lirriper, so I will. Capital D her!" bursts out Caroline (You might have struck me into the centre of the earth with a feather when she said it) "I 'll give her a touch of the temper I keep!" Caroline downs with her hair my dear, screeches and rushes upstairs, I following as fast as my trembling legs could bear me, but before I got into the room dinner cloth and pink and white service all dragged off upon the floor with a crash and the new-married couple on their backs in the fire-grate, him with the shovel and tongs and a dish of cucumber across him and a mercy it was summer-time. "Caroline" I says "be calm", but she catches off my cap and tears it in her teeth as passes me, then pounces on the new-married lady makes her a bundle of ribbons takes her by the ears and knocks the back of her head upon the carpet Murder screaming all the time Policemen running down

the street and Wozenham's windows (judge of my feelings when I came to know it) thrown up and Miss Wozenham calling out from the balcony with crocodile's tears "It's Mrs. Lirriper been overcharging somebody to madness—she'll be murdered—I always thought so—Pleaseman save her! . . .". (p. 152. Tauchnitz Ed. Leipzig, 1867).

Passages very similar to this can be found in Joyce's *Ulysses*. The absence of punctuation marks is also to be specially noted.

An almost forgotten writer, Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809-1894), had to some extent anticipated as early as 1859 the presentation of what came later to be known as *multiple consciousness* in the stream of consciousness technique. Here a significant passage from his *The Professor at the Breakfast Table* (1859), which is worth quoting at some length :

" . . . You have sometimes been in a train on the railroad when the engine was detached long way from the station you were approaching? Well, you have noticed how quietly and rapidly the cars kept on, just as if the locomotive were drawing them? Indeed, you would not have suspected that you were travelling on the strength of a dead fact, if you had not seen the engine running away from you on a side-track. Upon my conscience, I believe some of these pretty women detach their minds entirely, sometimes, from their talk,—and what is more, that we never know the difference. Their lips let off the fluty syllables just as their fingers would sprinkle the music-drops from their pianos; unconscious habit turns the phrase of thought into words just as it does that of music into notes—these sweet-lipped women,—because beauty is the index of a larger fact than wisdom.

. . . —My thoughts flow in layers or strata, at least three deep. I follow a slow person's talk, and keep a perfectly clear under-current of my own beneath it. Under both runs obscurely a consciousness belonging to a third train of reflections, independent of the two others. I will try to write out a mental movement in three parts.

A.—First voice, or Mental Soprano—thought follows a woman talking.

B.—Second voice, or Mental Barytone—my running accompaniment.

C.—Third voice, or Mental Basso,—low grumble of an importunate self-repeating idea.

A.—White lace, three skirts, looped with flowers, wreath of apple-blossoms, gold bracelets, diamond pin and ear-rings, the most delicious *berthe* you ever saw, whitesatin slippers—

B.—Deuce take her! What a fool she is! Hear her chatter! (look out of the window just here.—Two pages and a half description, if it were all written out, in one tenth of a second.)—Go ahead, old lady! (Eye catches pictures over fireplace.) There's that infernal family nose! Came over in "Mayflowers" on the first old fool's face. Why don't they wear a ring in it?

C.—You'll be late at lecture,—late 'at lecture,—late,—late,—late—

I observe that a deep layer of thought sometimes makes itself felt through the superincumbent strata, thus:—The usual single or double currents shall flow on, but there shall be an influence blending with them, disturbing them in an obscure way, until all at once I say.—Oh, there! I knew there was something troubling me,—and the thought which had been working through comes up to the surface clear, definite, and articulates itself,—a disagreeable duty, perhaps, or an unpleasant recollection.

The inner world of thought and the outer world of events are alike in this, that they are both brimful. There is no space between consecutive thoughts, or between the never-ending series of actions. All pack tight, and mould their surfaces against each other, so that in the long run there is a wonderful average uniformity in the forms of both thoughts and actions,—just as you find that cylinders crowded all become hexagonal prisms and spheres pressed together are formed into regular polyhedra.

Every event that a man would master must be mounted on the run, and no man ever caught the reins of a thought except as it galloped by him. So, to carry out, with another comparison, my remark about the layers of thought or events, like a circus-rider whirling round with a great troop of horses. He can mount a fact or an idea, and guide it more or less completely, but he cannot stop it. So, as I said in another way at the beginning, he can stride two or three thoughts at once, but not break their steady walk, trot, or gallop. He can only take his foot from that of another.

—What is the saddle of a thought? Why, a word, of course.—Twenty years after you have dismissed a thought, it suddenly edges up to you through the press, as if it had been steadily galloping round and round all that time without a rider. (Everyman's Ed., pp. 29-36).

This, it might be objected, is not at all a work of fiction, but a lecture. Still, such passages as these do demonstrate that the concept of the stream of consciousness was taking shape even in those early days of 1859. The problem of the complete expression of consciousness in works of fiction gave birth to the technique of the stream of consciousness.

5

We have so far examined some of the influences at work—the influences which hastened the break-up of the structure of the novel, and gave rise to the altogether new technique of the stream of consciousness. "The stream of consciousness answered a need of the age . . . and when we ask what kind of consciousness is revealed we can only answer that it is the collective consciousness of the age, growing deeper as modern consciousness grows richer and more complex"¹.

It is not at all difficult to find out passages from literature of the past centuries which have some similarity with the modern stream of consciousness or the interior monologue or what is called "slow motion photography" by the Americans. Literary methods, however novel or startling, do not come into being all on a sudden. It merely seems to be so. The stream of consciousness is indeed something quite novel. It seemed sudden when Marcel Proust came out with his *Swann's Way*, or James Joyce published his *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, or Dorothy Richardson commenced publishing her 'chapters' of *Pilgrimage*. It was a new thing, it profoundly affected the novel. It changed the look of things. It shocked some, it made some angry and many others bewildered. But it was born to answer the need of the age.

Dorothy Richardson herself sums up the situation while explaining her own position as a novelist who had to do a great deal with the new novelistic technique. She published the first part of her novel in 1915 and the twelfth and the last in 1925. This is what she wrote in the *Foreword* to the 1938 edition of her four-volume *Pilgrimage*:

"Although the translation of the impulse behind his youthful plan for a tremendous essay on *Les Forces Humaines* makes

¹ J. Isaacs : *An Assessment of Twentieth Century Literature*, p. 100.

for the population of his great cluster of novels with types rather than with individuals, the power of a sympathetic imagination, uniting him with each character in turn, gives to every portrait the quality of a faithful self-portrait, and his treatment of backgrounds, contemplated with an equally passionate interest and themselves, indeed, individual and unique, would alone qualify Balzac to be called the father of realism.

Less deeply concerned with the interplay of human forces, his first English followers portray with complete fidelity the lives and adventures of inconspicuous people, and for a while, when in the English literary world it began its career as a useful label, realism was synonymous with Arnold Bennett.

But whereas both Balzac and Bennett, while representing, the one in regard to a relatively concrete and coherent social system, the other in regard to a society already showing signs of disintegration, the turning of the human spirit upon itself, may be called realists by nature and unawares, their immediate successors possess an articulate creed. They believe themselves to be substituting, for the telescopes of the writers of romance whose lenses they condemn as both rose coloured and distorting, mirrors of plain glass.

By 1911, though not yet quite a direct supply of documentary material for the dossiers of the cause célèbre, man versus conditions impeached as the authors of discontent, realist novels are largely explicit satire and protest, and every form of conventionalized human association is being arraigned by biographical and autobiographical novelists.

Since all these novelists happened to be men, the present writer, proposing at this moment to write a novel and looking round for a contemporary pattern, was faced with the choice between following one of her regiments and attempting to produce a feminine equivalent of the current masculine realism. Choosing the latter alternative, she presently set aside, at the bidding of a dissatisfaction that revealed its nature without supplying any suggestible suggestion as to the removal of its cause, a considerable mass of manuscript. Aware, as she wrote, of the gradual falling away of the preoccupations that for a while had dictated the briskly moving script, and of the substitution, for these inspiring preoccupations, of a stranger in the form of contemplated reality having for the first time in her experience its own say, and apparently justifying those whom acclaim writ-

ing as the surest means of discovering the truth about one's own thoughts and beliefs, she had been at the same time increasingly tormented, not only by the failure, of this now so independently assertive reality, adequately to appear within the text, but by its revelation, whensoever focused, of a hundred faces, any one of which, the moment it was entrapped within the close mesh of direct statement, summoned its fellows to disqualify it.

In 1913, the opening pages of the attempted chronicle became the first chapters of *Pilgrimage*, written to the accompaniment of a sense of being upon a fresh pathway, an adventure so searching and, sometimes, so joyous as to produce a longing for participation; not quite the same as a longing for publication, whose possibility, indeed, as the book grew, receded to vanishing point.

She does not stop here. She tells us something more about those exciting years when the new type of novel was coming into being:

"The lonely track, meanwhile, had turned out to be a populous highway. Amongst those who had simultaneously entered it, two figures stood out.

One a woman mounted upon a magnificently caprisoned charger, the other a man walking, with eyes devoutly closed, weaving as he went a rich garment of new words wherewith to clothe the antique dark material of the engrossment.

News came from France of one Marcel Proust, said to be producing an unprecedentedly profound and opulent reconstruction of experience focused from within the mind of a single individual, and since Proust's first volume had been published and several others written by 1913, the France of Balzac now appeared to have produced the earliest adventurer.

Finally, however, the role of path-finder was declared to have been played by a venerable gentleman, a charmed and charming high priest of nearly all the orthodoxies, inhabiting a softly lit enclosure he mistook, for the accommodation of his vast tracts of urbane commentary, a prose style demanding, upon the first reading, a perfection of sustained concentration akin to that which brought it forth, and bestowing, again upon the first reading, the recreative delights peculiar to this form of spiritual exercise.

And while, indeed, it is possible to claim for Henry James, keeping the reader incessantly watching the conflict of human forces through the eye of a single observer, rather than taking

him, before the drama begins, upon a tour amongst properties, or breaking in with descriptive introductions of the players as one by one they enter his enclosed resounding chamber where no plant grows and no mystery pours in from the unheeded stars, a far from inconsiderable technical influence, it was nevertheless not without a sense of relief that the present writer, recently discovered, in *Wilhelm Meister*, the following manifesto: 'In the novel, reflections and incidents should be featured; in drama, character and action. The novel must proceed slowly, and the thought processes of the principal figure must, by one device or another, hold up the development of the whole The hero of the novel must be acted upon, or, at any rate, not himself, be the principal operator Grandison, Clarissa, Pamela, the Vicar of Wakefield, and Tom Jones himself, even where they are not acted upon, are still retarding personalities and all the incidents are, in certain measure, modelled according to their thoughts.'

Phrases began to appear, formulae devised to meet the exigencies of literary criticism. "The stream of consciousness" lyrically led the way, to be gladly welcomed by all who could persuade themselves of the possibility of comparing consciousness to a stream. Its transatlantic successors, 'Interior Monologue' and 'Slow-motion Photography', may each be granted a certain technical applicability leaving them, to this extent, unhampered by the defects of their qualities.

Feminine prose, as Charles Dickens and James Joyce have delightfully shown themselves to be aware, should properly be unpunctuated, moving from point to point without formal obstructions. And the author of *Pilgrimage* must confess to an early habit of ignoring, while writing, the lesser of the stereotyped system of signs and further, when finally sprinkling in what appeared to be necessary, to a small unconscious departure from current usage "

This is Dorothy Richardson's novelistic manifesto, though the whole statement is retrospective in nature. She admits her debts (technical at least) to Henry James and proclaims herself to be a traditional *realist* in the same line as Balzac. In her attempt to recreate *reality* in the novel she broke down first the traditional *form*, and then revolutionized the technique of *character portrayal*. She was not alone in this. James Joyce was doing much the same thing at about the same time. Virginia Woolf came rather late into the field. But

she too endeavoured, more or less, to attain the same end. She also adopted the stream of consciousness technique and enriched it considerably as she entered the world of fiction 'mounted upon a magnificently caprisoned charger.' A whole group of twentieth century novelists turned their back to what Wyndham Lewis called 'the great without' and turned intently and seriously to the great within. There is a deeper meaning to this turning inward process. That deeper meaning is to be sought and found in the new technique followed in the psychological novel or what has been called the novel without a story.

¹ P. Wyndham Lewis : *Men without Art*, p. 115.

PROBLEM OF RETURN OF A SPUTNIK CREW FROM COSMOS

P. ISAKOV

The successful launching of the Soviet artificial satellites of the Earth has shown that the prerequisites for people to make flights into outer space already exist. The second sputnik carried a live animal, the dog Laika. A study of the dog's behaviour and physical condition in outer space has shown that no essential changes took place in its organism during the flight. The third Soviet sputnik possesses a size and weight large enough to carry a man.

However, it is still too early to consider the flight of a man into outer space in a sputnik. Researchers and designers still have many problems to solve before they can reliably say that everything is ready, there is no danger and the pilot will safely return to the Earth. Other sputniks, some carrying animals, will have to be launched, before the conditions are achieved under which man will be able to make a flight into outer space in complete safety.

POSSIBILITY OF RETURN WITHOUT THE SPUTNIK

It must be said that of all the problems connected with such a flight, the return of the sputnik crew to earth is the most complicated one. In principle, this task can be solved in two ways: the first the descent of the crew together with the sputnik and, the second—the return of the people without the sputnik. Calculations indicate that the second method is technically simpler to achieve.

Aviation today has accumulated extensive experience in safe leaving of aircraft by its crew. In many countries various types of catapulting devices have been elaborated by means of which if necessary, crews can bail out of aircraft flying at great speeds. Similar devices can be used in sputniks. However the peculiarities of cosmic flight require further work on this problem; the speed and altitude of flight of the sputniks is considerably greater than that of modern aircraft.

USE OF PARACHUTES WITH SEALED CABINS

When using some of the modern systems of catapulting from aircraft the people descend to the ground in parachutes with sealed cabins.

Here the first problem which must be solved is the reduction of the speed of the cabin containing people so that it does not, in turn, become a sputnik, and can return to the Earth. Therefore the ejection of the cabin will have to be accomplished by powerful jet propulsion engines, and not by means of comparatively small pyrotechnic charges as in aircrafts. The jet force will have to be directed opposite to the sputnik's flight movement so that the speed of flight is sharply reduced.

Preliminary calculations show that deceleration with the help of a rocket will require a large quantity of fuel—almost as much as is needed to race the sputnik to the cosmic flight speed. To ensure the return of people by this method it will be necessary to solve a number of problems that are today fully within the capacity of modern science and engineering. Consequently, a number of other ways of solving this problem have been suggested.

DECELERATION OF SPUTNIK BY AIR RESISTANCE

One of these proposes deceleration of the sputnik by the air resistance. Although the air is extremely rarified in the upper layers of the atmosphere, at a speed of 8 kilometres per second deceleration can be sufficiently effective. This was confirmed by the observation of the first Soviet sputniks. When they entered the upper layers of the atmosphere, their speed was considerably reduced.

What difficulties will be encountered if this method is employed? Firstly, what is known as the heat barrier must be overcome.

OVERCOMING THE HEAT BARRIER

To reduce the heating, scientists have suggested gradual "submergence" of the sputnik in the atmosphere. While revolving around the Earth, it must repeatedly enter and recede from the atmosphere. The heating of the shell during deceleration in the atmosphere is partially eliminated by radiation beyond its borders. If the speed of the sputnik can in this way be reduced to a required limit, the crew can descend from it by the means used in aviation. However, it must be pointed out that additional data must still be obtained before this method can be worked out practically. In particular, scientists must obtain information on the temperature

at various deceleration intensities, the cooling of the sputnik in various conditions etc. The problem of the effects of high temperatures on the crew must also be solved, and protective devices designed. It has already been established that for a short period of time man can withstand temperature of 100 or more degrees Centigrade. Special types of clothing have already been designed which make it possible for people to withstand a temperature of nearly 300°C.

PROBLEM OF OVER-WEIGHT

But the heat barrier is not the only difficulty that researchers have encountered. When the sputnik is decelerated, a person will experience over-weight, i.e. he will feel his weight grow several times over. The effects of over-weight, which will last throughout the rather lengthy period of the deceleration process, may have a harmful influence on the organism.

Of late, in connection with the increase in the speed of aircraft, the effects of over-weight have been studied by many medical experts. It has been established that 3-5-fold over-weight for short periods of time leads to no harmful consequences whatever. However, if it lasts for several minutes, serious changes in the physical condition of a person will greatly limit his work capacity. This has prompted scientists to conduct a persistent research in their effort to find ways of effective protection from the influence of over-weight.

The elimination of the disorderly rotation of the body in various plains is of no mean importance to the human organism. This rotation may cause various undesirable consequences. As is known, if a person is revolved at a speed of 2-3 revolutions per second, within 10-15 seconds he will lose consciousness. And cases of loss of consciousness have also been known to be due to the rotation of a body during parachute jumps with delayed opening.

SOVIET EXPERIMENTS

Experiments made by Soviet researchers for the purpose of elaborating the method of rescue during the flight of animals in rockets have revealed that up to a height of 200 km. above sea level, it is possible to ensure the safety of the animal after the container in which it is located separates from the rocket. The findings of

MODERN ENGLISH POETIC DRAMA

G.V.L.N. SARMA

Department of English, Gauhati University.

The dramatic theatre is preeminently an emotional medium. Just as the musician conveys an idea of his vision through the ear, the painter through the eye, the master playwright conveys his artistic experience by appealing to the heart. This is best done through the seductive music of poetry. Indeed poetry is the only medium in which the emotions can be expressed at all. The realistic drama, the populariser of 'problems', has successfully employed prose as the vehicle of serious thought; but it can be easily perceived that the realism of the naturalistic plays is merely the surface of life. Poetry alone can hope to delve into the vital springs of life. To quote W.B. Yeats, "Of all artistic forms that have had a large share of the world's attention, the worst is the play about modern educated people. Except where it is superficial or deliberately argumentative, it fills one's soul with a sense of commonness as with dust. It has one mortal ailment. It cannot become the impassioned, that is to say, vital, without making somebody gushing and sentimental."¹

Tragedy as an expression of God's plenty in the language of poetry and power is as old as the Periclean age. All Greek tragedies are poetic plays and in moments of concentrated emotion even persons in Greek comedies rose to lyrical sublimity. Several speeches in Aristophanes swell like great solos, superbly lyrical and appropriate. When Greek drama was transplanted to Rome and other parts of Europe during the middle ages, poetry was accepted by the continental playwrights as the inevitable habit of tragic thought. In England the Elizabethans, for example, wrote all their tragedies in blank verse, rhythmically free, spontaneous, natural, simple, charming alike for its majesty and music. Unfortunately ever since the death of Shakespeare, poetry and drama drifted and tended to develop apart. In his later plays and romances, Shakespeare brought the poetic language close to the prose of the antechamber and even to the colloquialism of the common clay. To quote Robert Speaight, "the rhythm and idiom of contemporary speech were orchestrated into the complex harmonies of King Lear and the Tempest and Antony and Cleopatra. This poetry was written to be recited, to be acted, to be

¹ Discoveries (1906).

interpreted, rather than to be read. Its appeal was to the ear thirsty for rhetoric—but a rhetoric which had some relation to the current talk of Elizabethan and Jacobean times.”² The great English stylist after Shakespeare, Milton forged a new and artificial style for blank verse. In an early essay on Christopher Marlowe, Mr. T. S. Eliot maintained that from Milton downwards, “blank verse has suffered not only arrest, but retrogression. Tennyson’s use of it in *The Cup*, *Becket* and other plays is considered to be “cruder than that of half a dozen contemporaries of Shakespeare; cruder because less capable of expressing complicated, subtle, and surprising emotions.”

From Milton to the end of the nineteenth century, the history of English poetic drama is one of steady decadence. The Puritan mistrust of artistic truth checked verse drama in the mid-seventeenth century. The recovery of the Restoration drama was more apparent than real because the new theatre catered to specialized tastes. It lost its national character and its intellectual standards were those of the French aristocracy under Louis IX. One mark of the French influence on the English heroic plays of the period was the abandonment of blank verse for rhymed couplets. Another significant mark was the adoption of prose as the medium of expression for the comedies of manners (following the success of Moliere’s comedies) by George Etherege, William Wycherley, Sir John Vanbrugh, William Congreve and George Farquhar.

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries English poetic drama was almost a homeless waif. Its eclipse was due to a concatenation of mischances. It had to rival the more popular opera and the novel. London was becoming more densely populated every year and with mounting industrialization, was being filled with jaded factory hands and jaded housewives instead of thoughtful, leisured people. As Dr. H.V. Routh pertinently remarks, “whereas two or three theatres were all that the eighteenth century metropolis could claim, The Theatre Regulation Act in 1843 (legalizing all play-houses), multiplied that number ten times over by 1900; since ground rents increased as fast as the population, these resorts had to attract large audiences and rely on long runs.”³ Soon Shakespearian revivals were found to be a source of large and varied attraction. The nineteenth-century star-actor-managers like Phelps, Macready, Charles Kean, Irving and Beerbohm Tree, presented Shakespeare in an endless succession of pictorial, musical and mechanical effects and

² *Drama Since 1939*, p. 33.

³ *Literature and Ideas in Twentieth Century*.

thrilled the audience with their own histrionic skills. Their acting was psychologically demoralising as it fostered an indolent imagination in the audience trained merely to appreciate histrionic craft. Such a state of affairs was hard to redeem.

The Victorian poets tried their hands at verse drama. Browning, like Henry James, was so earnest in his aspiration that he regarded himself as a quintessential dramatist. In *A Light Woman*, he addresses himself as "Robert Browning, you writer of plays." Of course his plays, *'Strafford'* and *'The Blot on the 'Scutcheon'* were produced at Covent Garden by Macready with moderate success; so were Byron's *'Manfred'* and *'Marino Faliero'*; so were too Tennyson's verse dramas, *'Cup'*, *'Queen Mary'* and *'Becket'* produced at the Lyceum by Irving. But these plays were vampire-cold and raised "ghosts to gaze on, not to live with".

It is note-worthy to study the causes of the failure of the Victorian poets to write successful verse dramas. In the first place, they had no sense of the theatre. They suffered, as John Drinkwater points out, from the radical disability of having no living theatre in which to learn their craft"⁴. Secondly as Galsworthy wisely put it, "the shadow of the man Shakespeare was accross the path of all who attempted verse drama". Dramatists who blindly imitated the Shakespearian rodomontade and bombast fell directly under the old censure of Thomas Rymer. In his 'Short view of Tragedy', the eighteenth-century critic Rymer cited the following lines from Shakespeare and concluded that nobody, except possibly an itinerant from Bedlam, would have written those lines to tell that Desdemona had a safe voyage.

"He has had most favourable and happy speed :
 Tempests themselves, high seas and howling winds,
 The gutter'd rocks and congregated sands,
 Traitors ensteeped to clog the guiltless keel,
 As having sense of beauty, do omit
 Their mortal natures, letting go safely by
 The divine Desdemona."

(Othello Act II, Sc. iii).

After quoting some more examples Rymer declared that "many per-adventure of the tragical scenes in Shakespeare that cried up for action might yet do yet better without words. Words are a sort of heavy baggage that were better out of the way at the push of action." Most

⁴ Victorian Poetry (1923) p. 138.

of the Victorian poets with their stiff magniloquent desuetude, copied such Shakespearian tag without understanding the real spirit of his poetry. Their blank verse was like a sand castle built on the Elizabethans' trophied tombs based on the living rock of fresh, vigorous current popular idiom. Indeed what makes a play most dramatic is what makes it most poetic and it should be understood that "a verse play is not a play done into verse, but a different kind of play... So the poet with ambitions of the theatre, must discover the laws, both of another kind of verse and of another kind of drama."⁵ Moreover in all great dramatic poetry, the pattern of meaning and emotion is reinforced by an identical pattern of music which checks, retards and accelerates the pulse of our emotion without our knowing it.⁶

Let us consider, by way of illustration of these criteria, the opening scene of Shakespeare's play, 'Hamlet'. Every line of it reveals the dramatis's sense of the theatre. The scene itself opens in a hush of unearthly gloom on the ramparts of the Danish castle while the whole of Denmark contracted to one brow of woe at the recent demise of King Hamlet. There was a threat of war from the Norwegian Prince Fortinbras who sharked up a list of lawless resolute to march against Denmark, holding (obviously) a weak supposal of Cladius' worth. A strict and most observant watch was being kept even in the dark and bitter cold which sickened the hearts of the guards. The courtiers Horatio and Marcellus enter and speak of the 'thing'. The audience expect the enemy, but lo, a ghost jumps upon the dead hour harrowing the spectators and soldiers with fear and wonder. We are at once face to face with mediaeval superstition. It was believed that a classical scholar alone could communicate with a ghost and hence Horatio was urged to speak to the ghost. Horatio charges the ghost to speak, the ghost vanishes leaving the pale and trembling guards. The ghost reappears and vanishes again. There is thus very little genuine action in the scene; still Shakespeare, with his perfect sense of the theatre, had made it memorable, investing it at the same time with an element of universality. And what of the language of the scene? T. S. Eliot gave a brief and vivid analysis of the dramatic dialogue of this scene in his first Theodore Spencer Memorial Lecture delivered at the Harvard University on 21 November, 1950. From

⁵ T. S. Eliot : Introduction to S. L. Bethell's 'Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition.' (1944).

⁶ Read T. S. Eliot's first Theodore Spencer Memorial lecture. T. S. Eliot : Selected Prose (Penguin edn). p. 73.

the analysis it is shown how "verse is not merely a formalization, or an added decoration, but that it intensifies the drama"⁷.

From the last decade of the nineteenth century, attempts were made to lift the poetic drama from the status of caviare to the general to the joy of a larger public. During the early decades of the present century two poetic dramatists, Stephen Phyllips and James Elroy Flecker had great theatrical success in London. Between 1900 and 1908 the former had five plays produced, *Herod*, *Ulysses*, *Nero*, *Faust* and *Paolo and Francesca*. *Paolo and Francesca* was the most popular of his plays and dealt with an episode from Dante's *Inferno*. Paolo is sent by his elder brother, Giovanni to bring home the latter's lovely bride, Francesca and against their will Paolo and Francesca fall in love with each other and are murdered for their illicit love by the infuriated husband. Despite the languorous verse, the central scenes are dispassionate. Its weakness becomes manifest when the play is compared with Gabriele D'Annunzio's flamboyant 'Francesca da Rimini (1902) which dramatises the same tragic love. A kind of flaring amoral sensuality, free from Pirandellian qualms of conscience, colours all the scenes in D'Annunzio's play. In it all is fire,

⁷ It is worthwhile quoting here a few lines from this analysis: "From the short, brusque ejaculations at the beginning, suitable to the situation and to the character of the guards—but not expressing more character than is required for their function in the play—the verse glides into a slower movement with the appearance of the courtiers Horatio and Marcellus.

Horatio says 'tis but our fantasy... and the movement changes again on the appearance of Royalty, the ghost of the king, into the solemn and sonorous

What art thou, that usurp'st this time of night,...

(and note, by the way, this anticipation of the plot conveyed by the use of the verb 'usurp'); and majesty is suggested in a reference reminding us whose ghost this is :

So frown'd he once, when, in an angry parle,
He smote the sledded Polacks on the ice.

There is an abrupt change to staccato in Horatio's words to the Ghost on its second appearance; this rhythm changes again with the words

We do it wrong, being so majestic,
To offer it the show of violence;
For it is, as the air, invulnerable,
And our vain blows malicious mockery,

The scene reaches a resolution with the words of Marcellus :

It faded on the crowing of the cock.
Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes
Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
The bird of dawning singeth all night long ;...

and Horatio's answer :

So have I heard and do in part believe it.
But, look, the morn, in russet mantle clad,
Walks o'er the dew of yon high eastern hill.
Break we our watch up.

This is great poetry, and it is dramatic; but besides being poetic and dramatic, it is something more. There emerges when we analyse it, a kind of musical design also which reinforces and is one with the dramatic movement.. " Extract from 'T. S. Eliot: Selected Prose' (Penguin edn.) p. 72-73).

flaming passion and vital energy. Besides it, Phyllips' play is a passionless pantomime because Phyllips could see the world of the senses only remotely in a nebulous dreamland. Therefore his play fails to stir up in us trains of power and passion and doom which inform Dante's tale or such legends as that of Launcelot and Guinevere.

In dramatic technique Flecker was antithetical to Phyllips. As Priscilla Thouless observes, "Phyllips sees it (the scene) vaguely through an atmosphere shed by the emotional life of the characters; sense-impressions are faint and fade into one another. Flecker's scenes glitter with a hard and brilliant light, with no shadows."⁸ Flecker was an eiditic visualist, an Orientalist who lived in various places in the East, including Smyrna and Beirut and was for some time Vice-consul in Constantinople. He had affinities with the French Parnassians and wrote in his Preface to the *Golden Journey to Samarkand*: "My desire for writing poetry is to create beauty: my inclination is toward a beauty somewhat statuesque. I am apt to be dramatic and objective rather than intimate." In spite of this admission his real nature turned towards romanticism as a plant turns to sunlight. *Hassan* (published 1922, staged 1923) was the product of a Parnassian and a Romanticist. The hero of the play was a fat elderly sweet-meat maker of Baghdad who realises finally that all that glitters is not gold and that after all life is an empty dream. Despite its superficial sparkle, the pent-up and bizarre romanticism of the play in a riot of colour and fantasy soon reduced it to a faded dream, to a withered flower.

It was of course W. B. Yeats who tried to establish the lyrical drama as a serious rival to the realistic drama in its heyday. He deprecated the conversion of the theatre into the lecture platform and the pulpit by realistic playwrights and sang poems in praise of an inner reality conceived in "those old stories of the folk which were made by men who believed so much in the soul, and so little in anything else, that they were never entirely certain that the earth was solid under the foot-sole."⁹ He maintained that as the theatre began in ritual, it could not regain its glory without recalling words to their ancient sovereignty. To him appropriate living language, and not an idea, is the parent of drama and he wrote, "we must found good literature on a living speech, seeing" the difference between dead and living words,

⁸ *Modern Poetic Drama* (Basil Blackwell, 1934).

⁹

between words that meant something years ago and words that have the only thing that gives literary quality—personality, the breath of men's mouths. "Falstaff gives one the sensation of reality, and when one remembers the abundant vocabulary of a time when all but every thing present to the mind was present to the senses, one imagines that his words little magnified from the words of such a man in real life."¹⁰ Yeats' ambition was to build up lyrical drama with a base of realism and an apex of beauty.

The first phase of Yeats' theatrical career was devoted to the creation of symbolic dramas with lyrical spontaneity and individual atmospheres distilled from the folk memories of his native country. *The Countess Cathleen* (printed 1892, acted 1899), *The Land of Heart's Desire* (1894), *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* (1902), *The Shadowy Waters* (Printed 1900, acted 1904), *The Hour Glass* (1903), *The King's Threshold* (1904) belong to this phase. In the first play, a morality play in germ as Prof. Una Ellis Fermor calls it,¹¹ the countess sacrifices herself to appease the Demon merchants who move about the land purchasing souls for bread. This was one of the two plays with which the Irish National Theatre started on its course. *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* enshrines the eternal spirit of Ireland, hoary, yet ever lovely, symbolised in the play in the person of an old crone who metamorphoses into a blooming maid with the walk of a queen. *The King's Threshold* deals with the story of Seanchan the master-musician who affronted by his ruthless king, offers satyagraha and fasts unto death, thus bringing an eternal curse upon the royal palace. The martyr's disciples, instead of persuading their master to give up the fast before his death, support him in the vindication of the artist's rights. The play ends with a proud and bitter chant of the disciples over the master's corpse as it is borne away. *The Shadowy Waters*, another play by Yeats and considered to be the best among his plays by the playwright himself, is woven of certain dream experiences and conveys the artist's eternal message to the world :

All would be well

Could we but give us wholly to the dreams,
And get into their world that to the sense
Is shadow, and not linger wretchedly
Among substantial things, for it is dreams
That lift us to the flowing, changing world
That the heart longs for.

¹⁰ *Samhain* 4, (1904), p. 123.

¹¹ *The Irish Dramatic Movement* (1954), p. 101.

In 1920 Yeats published *Four Plays of Dancers* and with them he entered a new threshold of dramatic possibility. In them he revives the use of masks and employs the technique of the Japanese. No drama where episodes are presented with a startling retrospective element in an ultra-naturalistic atmosphere and where words are admirably harmonised with dance movements. These plays are wholly unlike the conventional British play; the playwright's eastern inspiration rushes through them like a great wind blowing out of the waste and laying all flat before it.

We are now sufficiently remote from the first flush of Irish national enthusiasm which hailed these plays in Dublin half-a-century ago and we may endorse the following judgment of Yeats as a playwright :

"His resolute attempt upon the drama serves mainly to bring out the prepotence of the tradition he started in. His plays repudiate the actual world as essentially as his incantatory lyrics and his esoteric prose repudiate it. A drama thus devoted to a "higher reality" of this kind could hardly exhibit the dramatic virtues. Mr. Yeats the dramatist that is, remains the poet who had "learned to think in the midst of the late phase of Pre-Raphaelitism." ¹²

Another romantic dramatist influenced by the Oriental theatre was Dr. Gordon Bottomley. In his youth, he was an ardent admirer of Rossetti in whom he found:

The lost Italian vision, the passionate
Vitality of art more rich than life,
More real than the day's reality.

Later he rejected the misty world of symbolic shapes and wrote a number of plays in imitation of the poetic spirit of Shakespeare. Very wisely he steered clear from the rigid measures of blank verse written by the nineteenth century poets and minted his own style, bound harmoniously to contemporary speech rhythms. He was one of the pioneers in modern English choric drama. He appreciated the work of Miss Marjorie Gullan in popularising choric speech. Miss Gullan founded in 1923 the Glasgow Verse-speaking choir and in 1925 the London Verse-speaking Choir. Being a great artist, she trained her choirs to marvellous mastery and offered them to Dr. Bottomley to experiment with in the production of his verse plays. Obviously Bottomley wrote such plays as "*Culbin Sands*" for such choirs. In such plays we have not only poetry, austere, real and

¹² New Bearings in English Poetry, P.

lovely, but also a new *genre* of drama in which for the first time the choruses are the protagonists. No one after Bottomley has tried to imitate the form, but the success of the choruses in *Culbin Sands* must have bewitched T.S. Eliot to adopt the same in *Murder in the Cathedral* and Miss Elsie Forgerly to recite the choruses in Mr. Eliot's play with angelic modulations and a sort of sombre sweetness to houses of packed admirers.

The poet who was largely responsible for a new orientation in England towards verse drama and for its rebirth is T.S. Eliot. By 1928 he published an important essay, *Dialogue on Dramatic Poetry* and seven years later he wrote the *Murder in the Cathedral* developing as it were certain hints dropped in that essay. It was first produced in 1935 in the charter house of the Canterbury cathedral and at once it was a phenomenal success. In addition to its performances at Canterbury Cathedral, it was played many times in London, both at the Old Vic, the Mercury Theatre and Notting Hill. It was also a great success at the WPA Theatre in New York and won fresh laurels at the Vieux Colombier at Paris in a translation by Henri Fluchere when it was produced there during 1943.

The causes for its triumph are noteworthy. In the first place, T.S. Eliot was telling a melodramatic story the details of which are known to every school boy in the English-speaking world. Every pilgrim to Canterbury sees the chapel of Martyrdom and cherishes its memory. Secondly the dramatic movement was very much simplified by making its nature almost static. Liturgical material (the introits and versicles for the three days after Christmas, the *Dies Irae* and the *Te Deum*) was deftly employed to enliven the static play. Its introduction injected into it all the serious absorption and interest which a devout christian finds in the High Mass. By way of added attraction the soul of the ballet is distilled into the sweet and spontaneously varied choruses of the play. Indeed the play in its ultimate analysis is a morality play with a limited ballet-like movement resorting to Christian ritual for keys as to its verbal expression. Thirdly, though the thought in the play is profound and complicated, the language is direct and simple. Mr. Eliot seemed to have made obscurity his creed in writing poetry, not so in writing dramatic poetry. Though stylized and Byzantine in many ways, as Robert Speaight justly observes, "the dramatist's antennae were feeling out all the time for a response. Indeed, both the play itself and the method of its presentation allowed for a direct appeal to its audience." The play is a chronicle play telling of the assassination

of Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, who opposed King Henry II. In essence however it is a metaphysical play and its central theme is true martyrdom which consists in the sacrifice of one's will, and not one's life, to the will of God. The word martyr in its strict ancient sense meant a witness. It was a later distinction between martyrs and confessors that made the word martyr applicable to a person who sealed his witness with blood. Thomas is a person fated for martyrdom and is yet aware of the perils of the ego which drives one to martyrdom. Four tempters assail him. He easily answers three of them, but the fourth—a projection of his own ghostly apprehension—dangles before his sight the hope of eternal glory after death. At last Thomas is able to surmount this temptation too :

The last temptation is the greatest treason :
To do the right deed for the wrong reason.

So he goes to his martyrdom with eyes wide open. The Knights try to justify their murder and their arguments sound hollow like the crackling of thorns under a pot. The play ends with the great piercing lamentation of the chorus of the women of Canterbury who symbolize the infirmities of the common world :

Forgive us, O Lord, we acknowledge ourselves as type of
the common man,
Of the men and women who shut the door and sit by the
fire ;
Who fear the blessing of God, the loneliness of the night
of God, the surrender required, the deprivation
inflicted ;
Who fear the injustice of men less than the justice of God ;
Who fear the hand at the window, the fire in the thatch,
the fist in the tavern, the push into the canal,
Less than we fear the love of God.

As Allardyce Nicoll points out, "there is to be found no nobler language in the theatre of our times"¹³ than the choric verse in *Murder in the Cathedral*.

Murder in the Cathedral was followed in 1939 by *The Family Reunion*, in 1949 by *The Cocktail Party* and in 1954 by *The Confidential Clerk*. In all these plays Mr. Eliot was trying to build poetic drama out of the workaday world. This attempt was at once

¹³ World Drama (1957 impression) P. 873,

their strength and their weakness. No doubt all of them have won success, and in *The Family Reunion*, he was able to work out a line of varying length and varying number of syllables, with a caesura and three stresses so that the line gave a rhythm close to contemporary speech. Nevertheless the fact remains that the pattern of meaning of these plays is rather difficult and in the last play has become almost obscure. Speaking of *The Confidential Clerk*, Middleton Murry says, "There are moments when I could almost believe that Mr. Eliot is playing a practical joke on that very considerable public which holds, as it were de fide, that he must be saying something very profound—all the profounder because they do not understand it." ¹⁴

Somewhat in the same mood that urged Mr. Eliot to compose *The Family Reunion* and other later plays, W. H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood have collaborated to write plays and produced three verse plays: *The Dog Beneath the Skin*; *Or, Where is Francis?* (1935) *The Ascent of F6* (1936) and *On the Frontier* (1938). Of the three plays, the second is popular and narrates the story of an expedition sent out by the British Govt. to scale an unconquered mountain known as F6. The mountain was sacred to the natives of its neighbourhood and was regarded to be demon-haunted. The superstitious natives held that the first conqueror of F6 would exercise unsullied sovereignty over them for a thousand years. So Britain and her rival Ostnia simultaneously make a bid to mount to its summit and seize "every opportunity of indulging in vicious, embittered satire at political chicanery and intrigue." Had the playwrights confined their narration to the political expedition, the play would have been more appealing, but as it stands, it has a strain of the psychoanalytical in it which vitiates a considerable part of the directness of appeal and power of the play.

During the years of the second world war there was a remarkable upsurge in popularity of the poetic drama. Immediately after the war, a Poets' Theatre had been established in London and during the forties a delighted and intellectual public hailed such plays as Norman Nicholson's *The Old Man of the Mountains* which narrates the familiar story of Elijah and Ahab in the twentieth century Cumbrian setting. Elijah is a proud and upright farmer opposed to Squire Ahab's erosion of the soil and condemning his impiety. He listens to the Divine voice, but is always sceptical about it until he resurrects a widow's son. Some of the scenes of the play, especially the scene

¹⁴ Unprofessional Essays (1955) P. 176.

of the boy's resurrection, are moving not only because they approach closely genuine folk-drama but also of the lively rhetoric and natural loquitive gaiety of the language. Consider for instance the following passage where Elijah rejoices in God's showers :

Now Thy words go bumping round the sky
 Like huge empty barrels on the cobbles of the clouds,
 Bursting the water-butts and tipping the gullies
 On the fells and the woodlands and the dale. Now
 The thirsty mouths of the trees are licking their tongues
 Into the wet soil, and grasses suck the rain
 Into their stems, and the great humps of the hills
 Gulp the water like whales and spout it out
 Through the many snouts of springs and fountains.

Ronald Duncan's St. Anthony drama, *This Way to the Tomb*, written in the form of a mask and an anti-mask, Anne Ridler's *The Shadowy Factory*, a sort of a modern Nativity play were both produced, together with *The Old Man of the Mountains*, by Mr. Martin Browne at the Mercury Theatre with considerable success. No other verse drama since *Murder in the Cathedral* had so wide an appeal as Duncan's *This Way to the Tomb* which was also presented for a special season at the Studio des Champs-Elysees in Paris" during 1946.¹⁵ In the first part of the play is revealed Anthony's penance for purity. He vows not to touch food or drink "till Death relieves me or Christ receives me." Two of his disciples try to persuade him to break off his resolution while the third encourages him in his spiritual pursuit. Then temptations of gluttony, lechery and pride of eyes assail him in the fashion of the tempters to Thomas à Becket and they are easily thrust aside. Bernard, the third disciple, like the fourth tempter in *Murder in the Cathedral*, is a replica of his own ego and reminds the humble Antony of the greatest peril of devotion—his own pride. In a single act of humility, Anthony transcends his ego and is blessed with the beatific vision of Christ when, with a final invocation, he accepts the food he has formerly refused.

In the second part of the play the scene is placed in the present age of Doubt in the island of Zante some five hundred years after the death of St. Antony. According to a popular legend, St. Antony appears at his tomb on the anniversary of his death. On a particular occasion, an anti-religious league eager to explode the legend gather at the tomb. The league is represented by a Chorus (in whom we

¹⁵ Drama since 1939—P. 93

perceive certain features of Anthony's first disciple), and Father Opine, a high priest of the Astral Group (in whom we find the pride and prejudice of Bernard, Anthony's third disciple). The Chorus led by Father Opine, recites a new Litany of the Nine Deadly Sins which forms part of their initiation into the new dispensation of Nihilism and looks into the tomb which reflects back the plain truth about themselves as faithfully as the Abbot's crystal in the ascent of F6. At midnight an old anonymous man approaches them declaring that he is St. Antony. The Astral Group mock him and go off dancing until the saint forces recognition on them and then the scoffers remain to pray. The play ends with a marvellous canzone which reiterates faith in reincarnation—

To live is to remember, to die is to forget ;
 Present existence is all reminiscence, memory
 Of our imperishable soul's past journey woven in and out of time
 As strand which never sever, we thread death to birth and get
 New feet for the old dance ; ...

The triumph of *Murder in the Cathedral*, *The old Man of the Mountains* and *This Way to the Tomb* makes us wonder whether a secular and domestic theme in dramatic verse would be equally successful. The answer to this inquiry is provided by Christopher Fry's verse comedies. Never since Ben Jonson did verse comedy attack the theatre with so many arrows to its quiver. Wit, humour, interior dialectic, rhetoric and startling imagery were flung with such power and skill as to compel immediate admiration. T. S. Eliot and W. H. Auden indeed possessed imaginative visions of life; nevertheless both were too intellectual to rejoice in the common touch. The austere integrity of Eliot particularly failed to popularise at a low plane images and ideas apprehended on a high level. Auden's spirit of course thirsted for popular response, but it appeared rather suspect from the beginning because, as Richard Hoggart truly points out, in W. H. Auden the reader will "meet boyishness succeeding maturity, the formal laced with the idiomatic, brilliant diagnosis succeeded by the slap-stick of a buffoon, controlled exposition contrasting with slipshod chatter".¹⁶ Christopher Fry was the only modern metaphysical verse dramatist who had stormed as it were the strongholds of Philistine London. He is a remarkable philosopher in the Leibnizian sense, that is, an intellectual who includes the most of reality in the least possible compass. His poetry has supreme power if we

¹⁶ AUDEN : *An introductory Essay* (Chatto and Windus) p. 13.

admit that the power of poetry lies in the language of paradox. Consider the series of gnostic images in the paradoxical and moving rhapsody in one of his plays :

Nothing can be seen
In the thistle-down, but the rough-head thistle comes.
Rest in that riddle. I can pass to you
Generations of roses in this wrinkled berry.
There : now you hold in your hand a race
Of summer gardens, it fades under centuries
Of petals. What is not, you have in your palm. .
Rest in the riddle, rest ; why not ?

(Thomas to the empirical Jennet in Fry's play,
The Lady's Not For Burning.)

Before the war, Fry published two plays—a choral drama entitled, *The Boy with a Cart* and a Giraudoux-like cynical play entitled, *A Phoenix too Frequent*. Then after the war came the exciting plays, *The Lady's not for Burning*, *Venus Observed*, *Ring Round the Moon* (inspired by Anouilh), *A Sleep of Prisoners* and *The Dark is Light Enough* (1954).

Christopher Fry has shown that modern verse drama need not confine itself to tragic and religious themes. He has enlivened wit with scintillating humour and a wholesome, boisterous vitality reminiscent of the Elizabethan spirit. His idiom replete with rich evocative imagery, is modern. Some critics have dwelt upon his deficiencies in plot-construction, but we may well believe, with Prof. 'Allardyce Nicoll, "that London's stage is nearer to recapturing the true poetic drama than it has been through all the long centuries from the death of Shakespeare",¹⁷ in Eliot's searing lines and in the scintillating brilliance of Fry's.

Some critics are found to be sceptical about the future of English verse drama. The *Time's* critic in a recent article has expressed his sincere regrets and dismay at the dismal failures of established playwrights in recent times. It is true that Eliot was plainly seen marking time in *The Confidential Clerk*. Mr. Fry has not scaled another pinnacle of glory as majestic as *The Lady's Not for Burning* after that fine careless rapture. He has in a way tried the patience of his admirers who eagerly awaited the true successor of the excellent play, *The Lady's not for Burning*, by offering them adaptations from Giraudoux and Anouilh. Yet there is no room for despair and it is rather rash

¹⁷ *World Drama*, p. 903.

to conclude that "the natural consequence of this irresolute leadership has been the fading of a dream that poetry was about to return to the stage, and a flurry of eagerness, as the night's tents are struck for a further march, to be off in some other direction."¹⁸ If we survey the history of the last half century of English verse drama, we cannot say that a rich poetic harvest has been garnered every year. In no period did art grow in geometric progression. Its growth is slow and steady and the past achievement in this direction should fill us with faith and hope for the future, for it is faith that creates and hope that sustains.

¹⁸ The Times Literary Supplement for August 17, 1956, p. xix.

UNIVERSITIES IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE

AMITABHA MUKHOPADHYAY

Sacerdotium, imperium and *studium* have been described by a medical writer as the three mysterious powers by whose harmonious co-operation the life and health of christendom were sustained. The source of the first was the Pope of Rome, that of the second, the Holy Roman Empire and that of the third, the great universities of Europe. The universities and the immediate products of their activities constitute the greatest achievements of the Middle Ages in the intellectual sphere. Their organization and their traditions affected the progress and intellectual development more powerfully and exclusively than any schools, in all likelihood, will ever do again.

Before the emergence of the universities, from the time of Charlemagne indeed, higher and lower literary education north of the Alps was supplied by the monastic and cathedral schools; and during the 11th century the cathedral schools began to outshine the monastic ones. The parish priests, of course, imparted some simple religious instruction to the village boys. The workshops of the masters in the guilds and the feudal courts of the nobles also furnished some sort of education of a very rudimentary type. Generally speaking, however, formal training in the A.B.C.'s was limited to those, who wanted to enter the church and the latter received their education in the monastic and the cathedral schools, as mentioned above. It was from these cathedral schools that many of the universities had their rise in the 12th century, particularly in northern Europe. The universities of medieval Europe owed their existence to a peculiar combination of circumstances. The primary impulse, of course, came from the new intellectual movement, which began to stir western Europe towards the close of the 11th and the opening of the 12th centuries. The production of important works on theology and canon law, the revival of the study of Roman law and Aristotelian philosophy, and the translation of Greek and Arabic works on science and medicine provided the universities with a large store of systematic knowledge to draw upon. There naturally arose a demand for a more advanced and specialized instruction than that given in the cathedral and monastic schools, especially for a more secular system of education that should prepare a person for

entering upon a professional career as a physician, lawyer or civil servant. In the second place, the universities also grew up in response to the needs of the church. The numerous heretical movements of the 12th century called for an institution, where large numbers of students could be trained to defend the organization and dogmas of the church. The highly elaborate organization of the church also required the services of trained personnel, which the universities alone could supply. In the third place, the administrative needs of the feudal states and principalities and the growing commercial and industrial establishments also required the existence of a large body of men, trained in law, the Latin language, accountancy and the main principles of business organization. It was again the universities, which were best suited to answer these requirements. In the next place, the growth of the universities also perhaps reflected the spirit of association, which in other spheres of life led to the formation of such diverse associations as the Lombard and the Hanseatic leagues, the guilds of merchants and artisans in the towns and the numerous ecclesiastical societies of the late Middle Ages. Finally, Tout finds in the growth of the universities a parallel to the similar movements, which in the political sphere led to the triumph of the idea of Empire under Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI and in the religious sphere to the triumph of the idea of Papal supremacy under Innocent III. The *studium*, according to him, kept pace with the *regnum* and the *sacerdotium*. Thus the intellectual, social and political needs of the 12th century rendered the growth of universities an historical necessity. That is why kings, popes and towns vied with one another to shower privileges on these scholastic bodies.

The term 'university', however, did not carry the same significance in the Middle Ages as it does to-day. It meant in those days simply an aggregate of persons, a scholastic body, whether of teachers or of scholars, and the place in which such a body was established or even its collective schools. The term was used as freely of the guild of merchants or artisans as of the guild of teachers or students. The medieval term, which most closely corresponds to the modern notion of a university is not *universitas* but *studium generale*, a term, which did not become common till the beginning of the 13th century. This term implied in the main three characteristics, *e.g.* (1) the institution invited or attracted students from all parts of Europe; (2) it was a place of higher education, one at least of the higher faculties, theology, law and medicine, being taught

there; (3) and such subjects were taught by a plurality of teachers. No medieval studia (or very few) in Europe, however, possessed all the three higher faculties. Even Paris in the days of her highest renown had no faculty of civil law. In the early 13th century there were only 3 studia in Europe to which the term was properly applied; these were Paris, famous for the study of arts and theology, Bologna, famous for the faculty of law, and Salerns, famous for that of medicine. A master, who had been taught and admitted in the teacher's gild in one of these places, would be entitled to teach in all other inferior studia. Most of the early studia were actually started by masters, who taught at Paris or Bologna. The Popes patronized these rising schools, so also did Emperors, kings and cities. But gradually in the latter half of the 13th century the creation of a *studium generale* came to be looked upon as one of the Papal and Imperial prerogatives. Even Paris and Bologna, which had been founded earlier without such authorization came to receive Papal bulls. Oxford and Paduas however, continued to be recognized as *studium generale* even without having procured a recognition from the Emperor or the Pope. One very curious fact may be noted in this connection. Although almost all the universities in Europe came to receive Papal bulls in course of time the three great primeval universities never recognized the doctorate degrees conferred by the younger bodies. Thus Paris did not even recognize Oxford degrees and Oxford paid back in the same coin.

Originally, there was no connection between the *universitas*, which was a gild of scholars or teachers, and the *studium generale*. Scholastic gilds were formed even before the term 'studium' came into regular use, and in some cases such gilds existed in schools, which never became studia. The necessity of organising such gilds lay in the fact that in the medical town the alien was wholly without political and civil rights, but most of the students and teachers were non-citizens of the towns in which they gathered. Consequently for the sake of comradeship and for mutual assistance the students and the teachers organized themselves in gilds or associations. Some of these associations, like the one at Bologna, were associations of students alone; while others, like that existing in Paris were bodies of teachers. Thus there arose two classes of universities, e.g. the so-called 'universities of students,' where the control was in the hands of the student body, and the universities of masters or teachers, in which the faculties constituted the administration. The former were situated mostly in South Europe

and the latter mostly in the north. Once firmly established, these associations like other medieval guilds came to enjoy special privileges, which generally included exemption from taxation and military service and freedom from the jurisdiction of ordinary courts. Though they were never quite able to reach their goal, yet the universities attained a considerable degree of autonomy. The German universities still have their own jails and the English universities their representatives in Parliament. Though composed mostly of churchmen, the universities also tried to secure complete freedom from the supervision of the church. They thus became in a large measure self-governed and self-judged communities, or, in a word, 'literary republics'. Gradually such a 'universitas' became in practice the inseparable accompaniment of the 'studium generale' and by the 15th century the original distinction between the two terms was generally forgotten. A 'studium generale' then, came to mean not merely a school with Papal or Imperial authorisation but a scholastic organization of a particular type and endowed with more or less uniform privileges. The universities also rapidly multiplied in number. Besides the three Primeval universities of Paris, Bologna and Salerns, which were established during the last 30 years of the 12th century, Oxford (1170) and Cambridge (1209) rose to fame in England, and Padua and Pisa became prominent in Italy. Thirteenth century Spain celebrated its deliverance from the Moor and its entrance into the Christian commonwealth by the setting up of new learned corporations. The first Spanish university at Palencia was founded by Alfonso VII of Castile. The first German university, that of Prague, was established by Emperor Charles IV in 1347 and then came the University of Heidelberg in 1385. By the end of the Middle Ages there came into existence some eighty Universities in Europe.

Originally, the students and teachers of the Universities were divided into 'nations' according to their geographical provenance. At Paris there were four of these nations, (namely the French, the Pisard, the Norman and the English), at Bologna there were thirty-six. This division of Universities into nations lasted in Germany till the Napoleonic period. These nations together elected the head of the university, the rector, through their own elected procurators. Most of the Italian universities were, however, content with the simpler classification of natives and foreigners. The students of the several nations were always ready to fight with each other and often they made common cause against the citizens; riots between 'town' and 'gown' sometimes became formidable. The students were all immune

from arrest by local authority and hence lack of discipline among them created a peculiar situation. It was to solve this serious disciplinary and social problem that the colleges were first organized. The first colleges were endowed homes for poor students and discipline could be more easily maintained there. In 1258 Robert de Sorbon founded for the first time an endowed college in Paris, namely the Sorbonne for students in theology. Gradually the colleges swallowed up the university. Students were obliged to live in some college or other, the faculty of the university was divided into groups, attached to the respective colleges, and all instruction was henceforth given within the colleges, the university remaining there only to conduct examinations and to grant degrees. Before 1500 A.D. 68 colleges came to be established in Paris alone. Oxford with 23 colleges and Cambridge with 19 still retain the federal organization of a medieval university.

According to its very definition a university admitted students from everywhere and its graduates had the right to teach anywhere (*jus ubique docendi*). As a matter of fact, a degree-holder was ordinarily required to continue for a while in the university as a teacher. To become a bachelor of arts, the candidate after four or five years of study passed an examination on the *trivium*, i.e., grammar, rhetoric and logic. Upon completion of this course he might try to obtain the degree of master of arts or a doctor's degree in one of the professions. For the former he had to complete the study of the quadrivium, with special attention to Aristotle, and for the latter special texts and commentaries on his chosen subject. The theological course was very long; at Paris the minimum was eight years, later extended to fourteen, and no student who was less than 35 years of age could be made a doctor. Finally, the candidate made a public defence of his thesis from six in the morning to until six in the evening against a succession of examiners and formally inaugurated his teaching career by giving a specimen lecture. Then followed a banquet for the teachers at the candidate's expense. Students were required to promise that in case of failure they would not attack their examiners with knife or dagger; sometimes they were also asked to furnish wine for the examiners. The number of successful candidates was very small and perhaps 2/3 rds of the candidates never got the bachelor's degree. Fisher has quaintly observed, "The failed M.A's and D.D's of medieval Europe must have been almost as numerous as the failed B.A's of Calcutta University. It is however well to remember that the whole system of

examination had not yet assumed the importance, which it possesses to-day. This was perhaps inevitable for the very simple reason that paper was not yet in common use and without paper there could not be any written examination on a large scale. Consequently a few years' stay in the university was regarded as hardly less important than actual possession of degrees.

Regarding the actual courses and methods of study, the medieval universities were really very backward. Courses were based on text-books, which the master read and elaborated in his lectures. The theological course consisted of a study of the Bible and the writings of the church fathers, including the works of Peter Lambard and Aquinas. In medicine the works of the ancient Greek scholars like Hippocrates and Galen had to be studied with their Arabic commentaries, prepared by Avicenna and Averroes. The science of law included both civil law and canon law. In civil law a commentary on the works of the *Corpus Juris* of Justinian and in canon law the decisions and edicts of the Popes and the General councils of the church had to be studied by the scholars. In natural science a study of the physics of Aristotle was recommended. For astrology (except in Italy) and astronomy there were no organized courses, but plenty of material was to be found in Arabic treatises. It is however, interesting to note that not even in the physical sciences was there any serious appeal to practical observation and experiment. In anatomy discussions took the place of dissections. Even at Bologna, which was most advanced in anatomical study each student witnessed only one dissection every year. Books were considered better authority than nature herself. To criticize Aristotle was looked upon as presumptuous and irreverent.

The earliest universities had no buildings of their own. The modern method of erecting a building first and then inviting students was reversed in those days. As Dr. Jessopp says, "the men came first, the bricks and mortar followed long after." Classes met in available church buildings or in rooms or halls rented by the teacher himself. In the bare classroom the professor alone had a desk. Students sat at first on the floor, then on benches. Lectures were always delivered in Latin and even in their social intercourse with one another the students were asked to use this language as far as possible. It was usual to attend at maximum three lectures a day (of unknown duration). Partly for lack of books and partly for the great reverence for texts the teacher had practically to dictate his lecture, and the students tried to take full notes either on wax-tablets or on the parch-

ment. Sometimes the students clubbed together to buy a text or parchment. In late afternoons and week-ends the students met to discuss subjects, recently covered in their lectures. These discussions took the form of disputations or debates, and skill in debate was considered in those days more important than soundness of learning. In the 15th century these disputations began to dwindle down to mere routine. They have, however, left an echo to-day in the title of 'wrangler,' given to the first class of the Cambridge Mathematics tripos, the word tripos itself recalling the three-legged stool on which the disputant sat. In the student's university of Bologna in the south the students took great pains to get their money's worth for the fees they paid to their teachers. The latter were reduced here to the most humiliating degree of servitude. The teacher was fined if he was a minute late for his lecture, if he went beyond the time for closing, if he skipped over a difficult passage or failed to finish his course within the term. A committee of students kept a close watch over the teacher's conduct and kept the Rector informed of his irregularities. If the teacher wanted to be married a single day's absence was graciously allowed but no honeymoon. From this iron discipline the university teachers of Bologna were later rescued by the city corporation. Students of medieval Europe often moved from one university to another in search of the best instruction, as they do in Germany and Holland even to-day. The medieval universities also took great care in advertising their wares. Sometimes the students would, in a movement of protest or indignation, secede in large numbers from a university. Not seldom such a migration proved to be the seed of a new university. Thus Padua seceded from Bologna, Cambridge from Oxford and Leipzig from Prague. About half the new foundations on the continent in the later Middle Ages was the result of secession by disgruntled students.

It is difficult to estimate correctly the number of students in the different medieval universities. The figures of 15, 20 or 30 thousand, as given in contemporary documents, seem to be exaggerated, but still the attendance was quite numerous beyond doubt. The students and teachers of the northern universities were mostly ecclesiastics but not so those of the south. It is however, interesting to note that although the universities were the products of the feudal society yet the feudal interests did not predominate in them. They were joined largely by the common people; the sons of the feudal nobles and princes had their private training in castles and courts and had no interest in a formal university career. This shows incidentally that

even in the feudal age there were certain institutions, which were not completely feudal in character. The age of admission of an entrant in the university varied much more considerably in those days than is now the case ; some of the new entrants were mere boys of 12 or 13, while others were mature men among whom were to be counted canons, deans, archdeacons and other dignitaries of the church. Student life in the earlier university period, before the dormitory or college system was introduced, was unregulated and shamefully disorderly. The medieval age was rough and lawless and the students were no better than their age ; indeed in some respects they were worse. The rich young profligates found the universities the most agreeable places for idling away their time. Many wild and reckless characters were also to be found there, who were constantly engaging in tavern brawls, terrorizing the townsmen at night, even waylaying travellers on the highways and committing many other heinous crimes. A 14th century address or petition from the Senators of Rome to the absentee pontiff points out the utter lack of discipline among the Roman scholars. They went . . . "wandering armed from tavern to tavern and other dishonest places, sometimes going on to quarrel or fight in arms with laymen ; committing manslaughter, thefts, robberies and very many other things that are far from honesty, . . . for which things no safeguard or remedy is applied by the ecclesiastical judges, holding the place of your most Holy Sec." (*vide* Coulton : *Life in the Middle Ages* : Vol. II : pp.87-89). In a similar petition presented by the common people to the British Parliament in 1422 we read that all sorts of crimes—murder, rape, felony and robbery,—were committed by the students of the University of Oxford, *vide*—Coulton : Vol. II : pp. 119-121). Most of these crimes went unpunished—even murder of fellow students. The university discipline was very lax before corporal punishment came to be introduced in the 15th century. The students, composing the different 'nations', sometimes broke out in unseemly riots even in the lecture rooms. The young entrants were subjected to much hardship, both pecuniary and physical. These new recruits, called 'bejaunus' were often required to give a party to the older students. Life was quite expensive in some of the universities like Oxford. Though we have spoken much about the rowdies in the medieval universities, yet the number of serious students also was not very little and the latter perhaps were more typical than their rowdy brethren. The usual hours of study were six to ten in the morning and twelve to five at noon, the evening being reserved for amuse-

ment. But we hear of the serious student, "who studies too much—who rises before the morning bell, is first to enter and last to leave the schools, spends the day in his room reading, ponders his lectures at meal time, and even reviews and argues in his sleep." There were also various standards of living among the students. On one hand there were the scions of the princely and the noble houses; on the other there were poor scholars, reduced to beg for their living or forced to become the servitors of some colleges or masters. The students also lacked many amenities of life; there was no adequate heating arrangement in their rooms, glass windows were exceptional, candle light was very expensive, and their furniture also very scant and primitive. But these hardships of student life were not peculiar to that community. Many comforts and conveniences, which have become necessities to the modern artisan were then unknown luxuries, except in the very wealthiest houses.

It is hard to overrate the influence of the universities on the life of the Middle Ages. In the first place, the universities set up in Europe a new cosmopolitan principle of union. Just as the feudal institution of knighthood had bound together men of different lands, wealth and social station in a common brotherhood of arms, so did the establishment of the universities unite the subtlest brains of diverse countries and ranks in a common professional and social life. Tout has rightly observed that no medieval university was in any sense a purely national institution. "It was the home of the Latinised cosmopolitan clerkly culture, that made the wandering scholar as much at home in a distant city of a foreign land as in the schools of his native town. The studium, like the Regnum and the Sacerdotium, belonged to the old cosmopolitan Roman order, that knew nothing of the modern ideas of national life and local status. Yet no local state, that aspired to civilized life could dispense with a studium generale or university." Secondly, the universities brought new and large opportunities for the spread of education, and added substantially to the existing body of knowledge. The scholastic philosophy and theology of the Middle Ages was developed in the northern universities; the southern universities specialized in the study of law; and Rashdall holds that the actual medicine and surgery of Salerno, Montpellier and Bologna were less contemptible than the popular view of them is apt to suggest. Many new text-books were written and old ones revived for the students' use. The introduction of definite curricula for different branches of study involved the systematic classification of academic pursuits. Undoubtedly most of

the students, who flocked to the medieval universities, were chiefly eager for a career and professional advancement, but there were also among them a few, touched with a higher spirit. Thirdly, the universities as corporate bodies exercised a very great influence upon national and international [developments. The university of Paris for example, became a great organ of public opinion and made its influence felt both in the domestic affairs of France and in the ecclesiastical politics of Europe. It was chiefly through the activity of this university that the 'Great Schism' in the Papacy was brought to an end. The fleeting triumph of Gallikanism in the Council of Constance (1415-18) was also due to the influence of the University of Paris. The canon law, developed systematically in the universities, helped the Papacy in dominating the Church and the Church in dominating the Christian world. Everywhere, except in England, the lawyers and judges of the secular courts were trained in Roman law at the Universities. It was through the influence of the university faculties that Roman law practically took the place of Teutonic codes in the courts of Germany and largely modified the customary laws of France in certain regions. A very large proportion of those by whom public affairs were directed,—churchmen, statesmen, lawyers and other professional men—were for the most part university-trained students. In Italy, the universities, which were students' corporations, did not exercise very great influence upon national politics, but individual doctors there played a leading part in the public life of the city republics. In the fourth place, it may be noted that although the free life and the democratic equality of the teachers and the unrestrained license of the taught brought about a spirit of independence within the academic band, yet the universities did not always foster the religious or intellectual freedom in the life of medieval Europe. As a matter of fact the studium, instead of becoming a rival of the Sacerdotium, became its most strenuous ally, and the greatest scholars of the age found their highest satisfaction in justifying the ways of the Church. The university sustained with the authority the declining might of the Church, thus allowing medieval ideas to remain in currency even when the political and Hierarchical system, which had engendered them was no longer supreme and triumphant. That the universities were not always in the vanguard of European thought is proved also by other facts. The Renaissance movement was definitely opposed by most of the universities; when the Reformation came, some of the universities supported it, while others undoubtedly stood in the opposition. Last

of all, we should take into account the influence of the medieval European universities upon the system of education, that prevails in the modern world. In spite of vast internal changes in the courses of study, methods of examination and other details, the modern universities, have retained the broad structural features (including the corporate character) of their medieval counterparts. The model of the medieval European universities has been generally accepted by modern progressive nations all over the world. The Indian universities today are following not the Nalanda model but the model of Oxford and Paris. This is, of course, due to a great extent to the recent Europeanization of the world, but at the same time it constitutes a great tribute to the medieval genius, which organized these universities.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Community Development in India—By V. T. Krishnamachari. The Publications Division, Government of India. Price Rupee One. Pages (August 15, 1958) 154.

India has 5,50,000 Villages where practically no light of modern civilisation had penetrated and which were virtually in darkness till 1952 when for the first time the idea of community development sprang up. Srijiut Krishnamachari, now Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission was a pioneer in this conception. His firm conviction that the villages constitute the key to future prosperity of India led to the plan of rural extension which the Government has now undertaken. Thanks to his great pioneering ability the movement of community development has been succesful as a result of which a new village society and culture have evolved through the inauguration of the National Extension service as envisaged by Sri Krishnamachari. The-village reformed under this pattern are today experiencing a new lease of life and the villagers are smiling. This has been possible because of the zeal and enthusiasm of earnest development workers eager to see the wellbeing of our gloomy hamlets.

The volume under review deals with the philosophy, programme and administrative aspects of the movement as conceived by Sri Krishnamachari and made known to the public through the press and platform. Those who are interested in the programme and particularly workers connected with upliftment works in the villages will be immensely benefited by this timely and important publication. The general reader will also find it equally interesting. The handy volume is nicely printed and the get-up is excellent.

The Indian Parliament—The Publications Division, Government of India. Price 50 nP. (July 1958) pp. 40.

This pamphlet depicts in short the history of the Parliament of the Indian Union. In the introductory chapter the author has referred to the old tradition of Government in ancient India by the people directly or by their elected representatives through various elective bodies such as the Samiti, Parishad and Panchayet. It also deals with the Parliament of today, its working, its power and privileges, the various committees of Parliament and its Secretariat.

This is a very useful publication and we commend it to the Parliamentarians of today.

The Eleventh Year—The Publications Division Government of India.
Price Re. 1.50 Pages 255.

The date of publication of this book is 15th August 1958. It contains in brief outlines the achievements of the Central and State as well as territorial governments in the Indian Union today, the eleventh year of our Independence. These achievements were obtained during the period April, 1957 and March, 1958. The book is divided into three major divisions. The first part deals with the activities of the centre, the second and third parts deal with those of the states and territories respectively.

This nicely printed handy volume is full of information and judged from this point of view it is a very useful publication. It is a careful study of the political, social and economic progress of all parts of India achieved during the year under review. It is thus the most recent and upto-date volume and perhaps the only one of its kind dealing with current developments at home.

B.K.

Mūlamadhyamaka Kārikā of Nāgārjuna (Chapter I-V), Part I—edited by Dr. Heramba Nath Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil., Asstt. Professor of Sanskrit and Pāli, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1957, Published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Price Rs. 3-8-0.

The book under review in both Bengali and English renderings of the Mūlamadhyamakakārikā of Nāgārjuna in the light of Chandra-Kīrti's commentary. Nāgārjuna wrote a number of works, of which the Mūlamadhyamakakārikā can be regarded as his master-piece. It is a voluminous work containing twenty-seven chapters. It presents in a systematic manner the philosophy of Mādhyamika School. It teaches Sūnyatā (the indescribable absolute) to be the sole reality. There is no difference between Saṃsāra (phenomenal world) and Sūnyatā (reality).

The Mādhyamika School is one of the main branches of Mahāyāna Buddhism and is said to have been originated with the great teacher Nāgārjuna (2nd Century A.D.). It brought in a revolution in Buddhist thought and produced a galaxy of important thinkers like Āryadeva (3rd Century A.D.), Buddhapālita (5th Century A.D.), Bhāvaviveka (5th Century A.D.), Chandrakīrti (6th Century A.D.) and others. To India alone it was not confined, but with the introduction of Mahāyāna it entered China and Japan. It played a decisive role in the development of the Tien-Tai and Sun-lum sects of China, as also of the San-ron Sect in China.

The present book is a translation of the first five Chapters only. In his preface the editor has declared that he proposes to publish the rest in subsequent parts. He has further pointed out that the present attempt professes to be no more than mere translation of the Kārikās in the light

of the commentary of Chandrakīrti. His renderings are elegant and lucid. He has quoted extracts from Chandrakīrti to corroborate his view-points. They have undoubtedly enhanced the value of the translation. The book is an outcome of years of intensive study and proves our editor's deep erudition in Mādhyamika lore. As the text of Nāgārjuna along with Chandrakīrti's commentary is not now easily available, this book will no doubt be useful to those engaged in the study of Indian Philosophy, particularly of Buddhism.

Lastly, the editor has given an illuminating introduction dealing with Buddhism in all its important aspects. A summary of Chapters has also been added to make the book more easily intelligible.

A. C. Banerjee.

Ourselfes

SARATCHANDRA CHATTERJEE MEMORIAL LECTURE.

Sri Syamapada Chakravarti, M.A., Vidyaratna, Sankhyabhusan, Saratchandra Chatterjee Memorial Lecturer of the University, for 1954, delivered a course of three lectures on "Kavyer Rup O Rasa" on the 6th, 7th, and 8th October, 1958, in the Darbhanga Hall of the University.

ACHARYYA JAGADISHCHANDRA BOSE CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

As we have already written in the October Number of the Review, the birth centenary of Acharyya Jagadishchandra falls on 30th November, 1958. Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, will inaugurate the centenary function at the Bose Institute and Sri S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President of India, will deliver the centenary address. The celebration committee has adopted a programme of exhibitions, lectures and demonstation of documentary films regarding the life and work of Acharyya Jagadishchandra extending over one week. The Postal Department of the Government of India will issue commemorative postal stamps on the occasion.



Notifications

Notice

Memo. No. MR/1478/OU

It is notified for general information that a Private institution was registered on 27.9.56 under the name of "The Central Board of Higher Education" by the Registrar of the Companies Delhi under the Societies Registration Act XXI of 1860. It is not a Government recognised institution. This Board was previously situated at Sita Ram Bazar, Delhi and was now been shifted to Uttam Nagar, Delhi.

The Board has also started its institutions at Agra, Allore (Andhra State), Bihar, Kanpur, Indore, Jaipur and West Bengal.

Neither the Board nor the Examination conducted by it is recognised by Government. This Board should not be mistaken for the Central Board of Secondary Education, Ajmer and the Board of Higher Secondary Education, Delhi, which are Government Institutions.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification

No. C/711/148 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that, in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Asutosh College for Women, Calcutta has been affiliated in Geology and Zoology to the I.Sc. standard, Geography Honours to the B.A. and B.Sc. standards, Geology (Pass & Hons.) and Zoology (Pass) to the B.Sc. standard with effect from the session 1958-59 with permission to present candidates in the abovenamed subjects at the examinations mentioned, from 1959 and not earlier.

Senate House:
Calcutta,
The 13th September, 1958.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification

No. C/1072/147 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that, in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Asutosh College of Commerce has been affiliated to the B.Com. standard in Insurance of Statistics Trade and Transport with effect from the session 1959-60, i.e., with permission to present candidates in the abovenamed subjects at the examinations mentioned, from 1961, and not earlier.

Senate House:
Calcutta,
The 11th October, 1958.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification

No. C/1028/70 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that, in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Maharaja Bir Bikram College, Agartala has been affiliated to the B.A., and B.Sc. (Pass) standards in Statistics with effect from the session 1958-59, i.e., with permission to present candidates in the abovenamed subjects at the examinations mentioned, from 1960 and not earlier.

Senate House:
Calcutta,
The 10th October, 1958.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification

No. C/800/66 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that, in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Rishi Bankimchandra College, Naihati has been affiliated to the B.A., (Honours) standard, in English and Bengali with effect from the session 1958-59, i.e. with permission to present candidates in the abovenamed subjects at the examinations mentioned, from 1960 and not earlier.

Senate House :
Calcutta,
The 17th September, 1958.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Notification

No. C/743/122 (Aff.)

It is hereby notified for general information that, in extension of the affiliation already granted, the Bankura Sammilani Medical College has been affiliated to the Final M.B.B.S. standard with effect from the session 1958-59.

Senate House :
Calcutta,
The 1958.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/1/Ord/58

It is notified for general information that the following changes in the Ordinances relating to the Admission of students to the University and their Enrolment were made by the Syndicate at their meeting held on 29th March, 1958 which was accepted by the Senate on 21st July, 1958 :—

The existing Ordinance 20 of the Ordinances relating to the Admission of students to the University and their Enrolment (p. 135) be replaced by the following :—

"If a student who has not been permitted to continue his studies in the College owing to his non-appearance or failure at the college examinations or who has not been promoted, applies for transfer, the circumstances of the case shall be noted on the Transfer Certificate and the student shall not be admitted or promoted to a higher class in another college within twelve months."

The Syndicate on 16th August, 1958 decided to give immediate effect to the above change.

Senate House,
The 18th August, 1958.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/13/58

It is notified for general information that the changes relating to the syllabuses for the B.V.Sc. Course as announced in Notification No. CSR/24/56 dated 16th June, 1956 have been withdrawn with the exception of those mentioned in Item 18(c) by the Academic Council at their meeting held on 8th March, 1958. This has been accepted by the Senate on 21st July, 1958.

The Academic Council on 8th March, 1958 decided to give effect to the Notification No. CSR/2/55, dated 3rd February, 1955 on the subject.

Senate House,
The 31st July, 1958.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/12/58

It is notified for general information that the revised Regulations with the consequential changes as shown in the accompanying pamphlet for the Master of Commerce Examination were adopted by the Academic Council on 26th May, 1958 and accepted by the Senate on 21st July, 1958.

The Academic Council at their meeting held on 26th May, 1958 also decided to give effect to the above Regulations from the Examination of 1961.

Senate House,

Calcutta.

The 19th August, 1958.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,

Registrar.

THE NEW REGULATIONS FOR THE M.COM EXAMINATION WITH
THE CONSEQUENTIAL CHANGES

(1) Add a new Chapter after Chapter XXXIV-A to be numbered XXXIV-B with the heading "Master of Commerce" and delete "(XIV-B) Commerce" from Sec. 5, Chapter XXXIII of the Regulation.

(2) The Chapter is to run as follows :—

1. An examination for the degree of Master of Commerce shall be held annually in Calcutta and at such other places as shall from time to time be appointed by the Syndicate and shall commence at such time as the Syndicate shall determine, the approximate date to be notified in the Calendar.

2. Any candidate who has passed the B.Com. Examination not less than two academical years previously may be examined for the degree of M.Com. provided he has prosecuted a regular course of study for two academical years in a college or colleges affiliated to the University or in the University College of Commerce.

Any candidate who has passed the B.Com. Examination not less than three academical years previously may be admitted as a non-collegiate student to the M.Com. Examination subject to the provisions of the Calcutta University Act, 1951.

3. Every candidate shall send in his application with a certificate in the form prescribed by the Syndicate and a fee of Rs. 80 to the Registrar not less than three months before the Examination.

4. A candidate who fails to pass or to present himself for examination, shall not be entitled to claim a refund of the fee. A candidate who fails to pass may be admitted to any one or more subsequent M.Com. Examinations as a non-collegiate student on payment of a like fee of Eighty Rupees on each occasion, subject to the provisions of the Calcutta University Act, 1951.

4A. If a student, after completion of a regular course of study for the examination does not register himself as a candidate for or present himself at the examination immediately succeeding such completion, he may appear at any of the two following examinations of the same standard on payment of the prescribed fee, provided that he produces, in addition to the ordinary certificate or certificates as required under the Regulations, a certificate from the Head of the Institution at which he studied or from a member of the Senate testifying to his good character during the intervening period.

If a student, after the completion of his regular course of study registers himself as a candidate at the examination immediately succeeding such completion and appears at the examination but fails to complete the examination on account of illness or any other reason considered sufficient by the Syndicate, the above rules may be applied to the cases of such students by the Syndicate.

5. A candidate will be examined in the following subjects :—
Compulsory subjects :—

I. Applied Economics (including Monetary Economics)	... 100 marks
II. Business Administration and Management	... 100 "
III. Modern Economic Development (India, Japan, U.K., U.S.A. U.S.S.R.)	... 100 "
IV. Economic and Business Statistics	... 100 "
Elective subjects—Any one of the following:	
(4 Papers)	 400 marks

I. Modern Finance—

1. Central and Commercial Banking, Money Markets, etc.
2. International Financial Institutions, Exchange Control.
Balance of Payments Problems, etc.
3. Corporation Finance
4. Public and Municipal Finance

II. Problems of Modern Industry and Labour

III. Special Problems of Accountancy and Auditing (Special Accounts Auditing, Taxation and Costing).

IV. Trade (2 Papers) and Transport (2 Papers); and such other subject or subjects as may be added by the Board of Post-Graduate Studies from time to time.

6. The limits of the subjects shall be defined and books shall be recommended from time to time by the Board of Post-Graduate Studies in Commerce so as to indicate generally the extent and standard of knowledge required. The Academic Council may also on the recommendation of the Board of Studies alter or add to the subjects.

GENERAL

1. In order to pass a candidate must obtain 288 marks in the aggregate. No minimum pass marks shall be required in each paper, but if in any paper a candidate obtains less than 25 marks, those marks shall not be included in his aggregate. Candidates obtaining 360 marks shall be placed in the Second Class and those obtaining 480 marks in the First Class.

2. As soon as possible after the examination, the Syndicate shall publish a list of candidates who have passed in each subject, arranged in three classes and in order of merit. Candidates shall be bracketed together unless the Examiners are of opinion that there is clearly a difference in their merits.

Each successful candidate shall receive with his Degree of M.Com. a certificate setting forth the class in which he was placed.

3. The candidate who is placed first in the First Class shall receive a Gold Medal and a prize of books to the value of Rs. 200 and the candidate who is placed second in the First Class shall receive a Silver Medal and a prize of books to the value of Rs. 100.

Provided that the Gold or Silver Medal shall not be awarded to the candidate if he does not secure First Class marks in the aggregate in the Common Papers.

Appendix—A

The certificates to be issued to the M.Com. candidates will be similar to the ones issued to M.A. or M.Sc. candidates.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification

No. CSR/10/58

It is notified for general information that the following changes in the Chapter XXXIII of the Regulations relating to the M.A. Examination were adopted by the Academic Council on 8th March, 1958, and accepted by the Senate on 21st July, 1958 :—

- (a) In Section 1, paragraph 5, line 1, the words "Or the B.Com." be deleted.
- (b) In Section 1, paragraph 5, line 4, the words "1-XV-A" be replaced by the words "1-XIVA, XV-XVA".
- (c) The following paragraph be inserted between paragraphs 5 & 6 of section 1 :—
"Any candidate who has passed the B Com. Examination not less than three years previously may be admitted to the M.A. Examination in Commerce as a private candidate".
- (d) In Section 1, paragraph 6, line 4, the words "Or the B.Com. Examination" be deleted.
- (e) The following proviso be added at the end of section 3 :—

Notwithstanding anything contained in these regulations, no Master of Arts shall be admitted as a private student to M.A. Examination in Commerce and no Master of Commerce shall be admitted as a private student to the M.A. Examination in Economics.

(f) The proviso beginning with the words 'provided that those who have etc.' and ending with the words 'Indian Universities Act' in para. 6, under the head Commerce (page 135 of the Regulations), be deleted."

The above changes will take effect from the Examination of 1959.

Senate House,
The 25th July, 1958.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar

The following are the orders of the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate with regard to R. A. Cases arising out of the B.Com. Examination, 1958 :

(i) The following candidates are exonerated from the charge of breach of discipline :

1. Ramchandra Das, Roll Cal. No. 76, Regn. No. 5696 of 1952-53, Vidyasagar College.
2. Tarunkumar Sarkar, Roll Cal. No. 83, Regn. No. 12690 of 1953-54, Vidyasagar College.
3. Rabindranath Basu, Roll Cal. No. 2310, Regn. No. 13862 of 1953-54, City College.
4. Vijai Pratap Singh, Roll Cal. No. 2365, Regn. No. 3003 of 1955-56, City College.

(ii) The examination of 1958 of the following candidates is cancelled :

1. Sunilkumar Mitra, Roll Cal. No. 148 Regn. No. 21640 of 1954-55, Vidyasagar College.
2. Sudhirkumar Sarkar, Roll Cal. No. 212 Regn. No. 22949 of 1953-54, Asutosh College.
3. Chittaranjan Das, Roll Cal. No. 224, Regn. No. 5140 of 1953-54, Asutosh College.
4. Asishkumar Sengupta, Roll Cal. No. 4678, Regn. No. 8867 of 1952-53, City College.
5. Debendranath Mahata, Roll Kharg. No. 16, Regn. No. 12879 of 1954-55, Kharagpur College.
6. Kanailal Nandi, Roll Kharg. Ext. No. 2 Regn. No. 1489 of 1945-46, Kharagpur College.

(iii) The examination of 1958 of the following candidates is cancelled and they are debarred from appearing at any examination of the University in 1959 :

1. Pasupati Gangopadhyay, Roll Cal. No. 75, Regn. No. 8714 of 1945-46, Vidyasagar College.
2. Pratulchandra Mitra, Roll Cal. No. 191, Regn. No. 6246 of 1948-49, Asutosh College.
3. Sahabuddin Mollah, Roll Cal. No. 239, Regn. No. 18199 of 1952-53, Asutosh College.
4. Dwijendrakumar Bandyopadhyay, Roll Cal. 1111, Regn. No. 15338 of 1953-54 St. Xavier's College.
5. Jatindranath Biswas, Roll Nai. No. 47, Regn. No. 12743 of 1955-56, Naihati Rishi Bankimchandra College.

N. C. ROY
Controller of Examinations.

The undernoted candidates who were reported against for breach of discipline at the B. E. Part I Examination, May, 1958 and Final M.B.B.S. Examination, June, 1958 respectively :

I. B. E. Part I Examination, May, 1958.

The B. E. Part I Examination, May, 1958 of Mobd. Sayeed, Roll Cal. N. No. 35, is cancelled for breach of discipline on his part at the aforesaid examination.

II. Final M.B.B.S. Examination, June, 1958.

The Final M.B.B.S. Examination, June, 1958 of Gokul Singh Yhonjon, Roll Cal. N. No. 7, is cancelled for breach of discipline on his part at the aforesaid examination.

B. B. BANERJEE,
Asst. Controller of Examinations.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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Tripurari Chakravarty
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[DECEMBER, 1958

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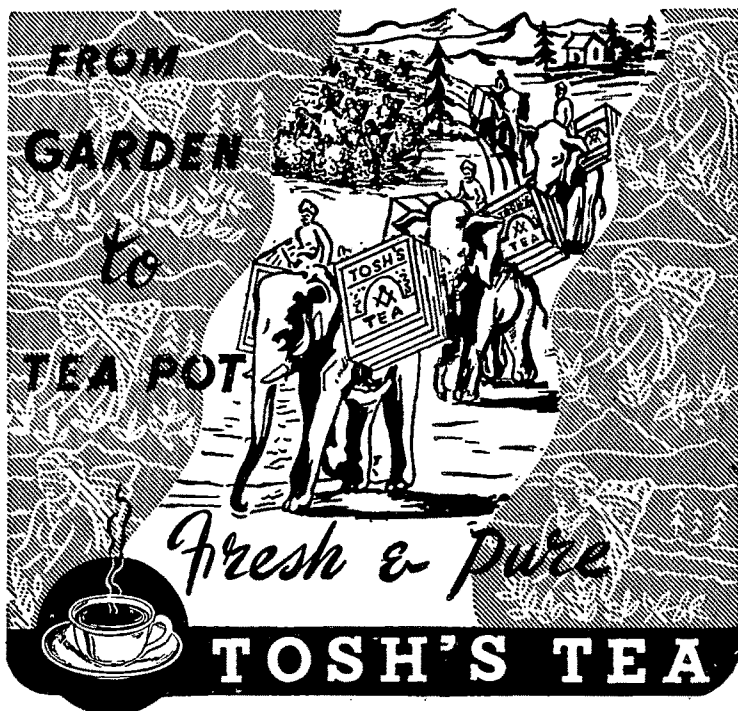
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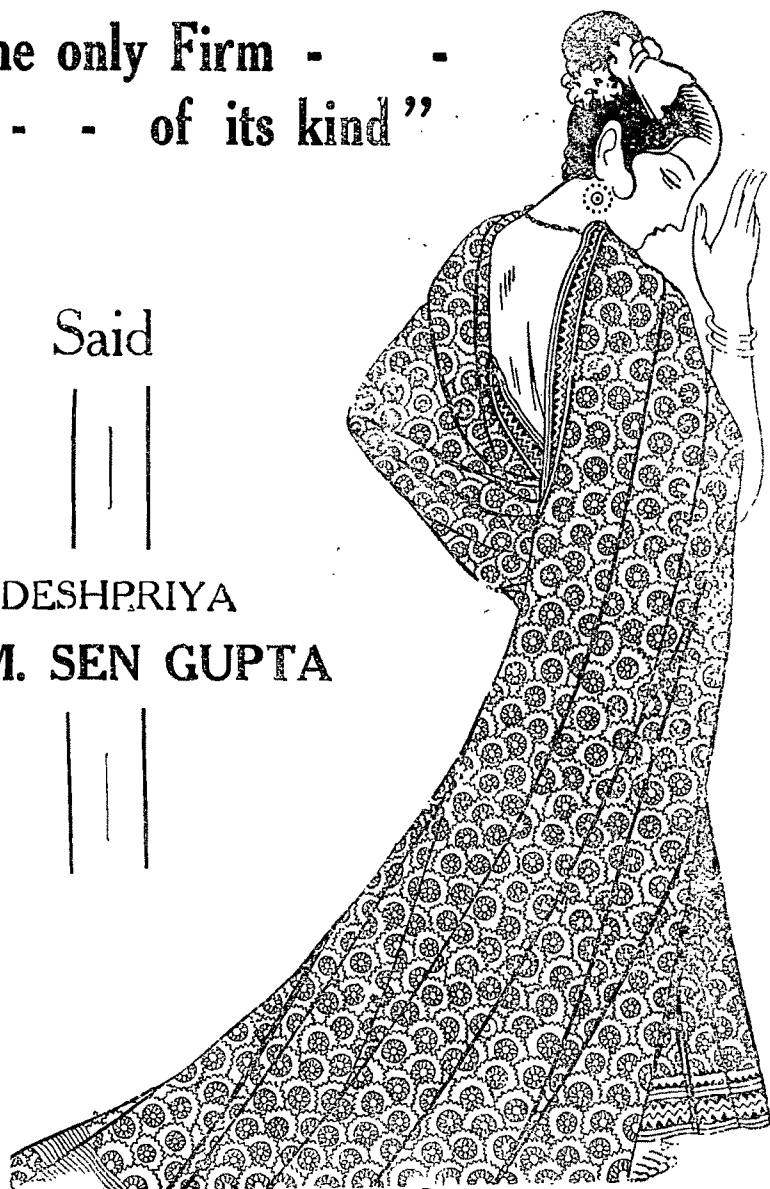
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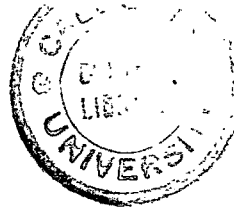
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[No. 3

COMTE AND PLATO

DR. VISHWANATH PRASAD VARMA, M.A. (PATNA),

M.A. (COLUMBIA), PH.D. (CHICAGO)

Professor of Politics, Patna College

I. INTRODUCTION

Auguste Comte, founder and leader of French positivistic sociology was a towering thinker and a scholar of encyclopaedic dimension. He not only gave us the new word 'sociology' but conceived of an unitary science of sociology which will comprehend within it economics, political science, psychology and morals etc. He was inspired by the scientific advances of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries and like a social prophet provided a futurist utopia which was to be built by the synthesis of the powers of cognition, volition and emotion. Although his dreams of a positivist church have not borne fruit he is honoured as a path-finder in the domain of the social sciences. Thinker, philosopher, visionary and a prolific writer, Comte has an abiding eminence in the history of social thought.

It is true that Comte's stature was never of the type and elevation as that of Plato. The latter was not only the founder of Western idealism but has been one of the foremost makers of the European mind. His thought has spread the lustre of its nobility, sublimity, depth and almost divine piety on countless generations of western humanity. When I am making this comparative study of Comte and Plato I do not want to give the least impression that I rate them equals or near equals. My problem is : (i) to show the possible influences of Plato upon Comte and also (ii) to point out certain

common points and differences between their thought-systems. I have attempted to write this paper because I notice that when historians of social thought trace the genesis of Comte's thought they refer to Condorcet, St. Simon etc. but make rare mention of Plato and whenever they do so sometimes, it is rather vaguely and casually while I am coming to the conclusion that the Platonic influence on Comte was deep.

2. PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE

Comte is famous for his scheme of the hierarchy of the sciences. According to him the positive sciences can be thus arranged from the bottom to the top: Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Biology and on top of all sociology (which he earlier called social physics). This arrangement is in a hierarchical order and is based on the principle of decreasing generality and increasing complexity of the subject-matter of the various sciences.

I believe that this idea of the hierarchical arrangement of the sciences Comte possibly derived from Plato. In the *Republic* Plato constructs a scheme of the branches of intellectual disciplines which can be thus ranged: Arithmetic, Plane and Solid Geometry, Astronomy, Harmonics and Dialectics.

There are two significant differences between the Comtean and the Platonic schemes of the hierarchy of sciences. First, if according to Comte the principle of classification is the increasing complexity and the decreasing generality of the sciences, according to Plato it is the transition from scientific understanding based on hypotheses to dialectical knowledge based on the first principles. This will mean that according to Plato the more we advance in the scale the nearer we approximate to generalized principles, while in the Comtean scheme the most generalized principles are met with in the beginning of the scale. Secondly, according to Comte, the highest positive science is sociology which discusses society as an organism. According to Plato the highest knowledge is dialectics which discusses the interrelations of the "ideas". There is no specific subject called sociology in the Platonic scheme but it is clear that the discussion of social and political matters will occupy a lower place than that of the mathematical sciences because the removal from the sensuous is greater in the latter than in the former. Thus Comte and Plato differ sharply with regard to the place they ascribe to sociology as a science.

But in spite of these differences between the Comtean and the Platonic schemes I feel that the Comtean scheme bears important

traces of Platonic influence. The very idea of a hierarchical arrangement of the different branches of advanced knowledge in Platonic in its origin. Thales, Pythagoras and Parmenides do not touch upon the problem. There is nothing like it explicitly mentioned even in the writings of post-Platonic thinkers like Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas and Kant. Hegel, of course, makes an arrangement of the branches of knowledge according to a dialectical *triadic* principle—as they pertain to the realms of the subjective mind, the objective mind and the absolute mind. But the problem of Comte and Plato is one of arranging all the sciences in *one* hierarchical pattern. Aristotle is mainly concerned with the classification of the sciences. But unlike Aristotle, Comte and Plato are concerned with the hierarchical arrangement of sciences and philosophy and not only with the classification of the sciences. Thus the attempt to trace a hierarchical order of the sciences points out that Comte's scheme bears unmistakable conceptual traces of the Platonic scheme. It may be noted in this connexion that Herbert Spencer was influenced by the Comtean notion of the hierarchy of the sciences.

There are some significant differences in the social and political philosophy of Comte and Plato. Although Plato was a first rate scholar of contemporary Greek mathematics, he rated dialectical philosophy higher than the sciences. Sciences attempt to go beyond the world of sensuous experiences. The realm of mathematical objects is higher than the realm of opinion which covers the multiple phenomena of the world. But sciences, after all, are based only on hypotheses. They attempt to approximate to but do not quite attain the abstraction of philosophical principles. The highest realm of knowledge according to Plato is the province of the dialectical philosophy which provides a synoptic vision of the ideas and ultimately leads us to the supreme knowledge of the good. According to Comte this relationship between philosophy and science is almost reversed. He considers metaphysical philosophy to be inferior to the positive sciences. When he talks of metaphysics he has in mind mainly European metaphysics from the period 1300 A.D. to 1800 A.D. But Comte's strictures of metaphysics would apply not only to Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Wolff, Kant and Hegel but, in principle, may also apply to the earlier schools and academies of Hellenic idealism. Comte did not favor the metaphysical tendency of ascribing the diverse sets of worldly phenomena to the causal agency of some abstract force or idea. He was inclined to the scientific process of discovering the antecedents of consequences. In-

stead of the gigantic concept of some absolute force, Comte favored the scientific notion of tracing the correlation between limited and specific phenomena. This method he regarded as positive in opposition to the universalistic orientation of the rational metaphysics of Descartes and the empty generalizations of the eighteenth century French 'protagonists' of the enlightenment. Due to his scientific leanings Comte wanted that social phenomena must also be studied with reference to the mechanistic methodology of science. Thus we find a fundamental difference between the attitudes of Plato and Comte with regard to science. Plato was inspired by the ethereal vision of the idea of good. He was disillusioned with the practices of the Athenian state and hence he dreamt of a perfectionist utopia. Without the noble and harmonious synthesis of philosophic cognition and the art of political rulership, he did not see any salvation for mankind. Hence his supreme emphasis was on knowledge but it was the knowledge of the ultimate principles or the immutable, eternal, archetypal ideas. Comte is perfectly akin to Plato in viewing that the redemption of mankind lies in the incorporation of knowledge in the social and political process. But he stresses knowledge of the positive sciences. Comte flourished in an era when theoretical and applied sciences were advancing with great speed. The advance of physics was gradually revolutionizing the conceptions of the older cosmogony and cosmology. Applied science and technology were beginning to extend the control of man over nature. Hence Comte has a far greater fascination and regard for the sciences than Plato although Plato had a greater knowledge of mathematics than Comte. In pre-Platonic and Platonic Greece the progress of sciences based on observation and induction had been slender. There is no mention of physics, chemistry and biology in the Platonic scheme although his rebel pupil Aristotle wrote a treatise on physics and another on biology. In the Comtean scheme physics, chemistry and biology are prominently mentioned and even partly discussed.

3. PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Upon Comte's theory of social cohesiveness also we can trace the influence of the Platonic concept of functional specialization and division of labor. Comte does ascribe a significant place to the Hobbesian concept of political force and sovereign power but he is careful to point out that force alone can never be the adequate social bond. The force of sociality is equally and perhaps more important. This force of sociality is expressed in the operation of the law of

functional specialization. According to Plato one of the prime factors in the establishment of the *polis* is the satisfaction of human needs which requires the cooperation of a number of persons, no body being sufficient into himself. Comte adopts the Platonic principle of functional specialization and division of labor and makes it the key concept in his theory of social organization. Comte, in his political philosophy works out a synthesis of the Hobbesian and Platonic principles.

Comte like Vico and Hegel has a fancy for triads. But perhaps the root of this system of triads is the Platonic philosophy. Plato discusses three classes in his society and the three parts of the human soul. Comte discusses three kinds of social forces, three stages of the emotional, volitional (action-oriented) and intellectual evolution of humanity and three basic classes of his positivistic society. The three basic classes of Comte are the priests, the women and the leaders of war or industry. The three classes according to Plato are the guardians, the auxiliaries and the husbandmen. Comte would put the vast masses of the people or the proletariat as the fourth class in his scheme. In the Platonic scheme, although Plato is one of the earliest champions of female emancipation and advocates a scheme even for having female guardians, there is no separate class of women as such.

The priests of Comte who are non-theological sociologists and occupy the topmost position in the social hierarchy remind us of the celebrated concept of the guardians of Plato. The High Priest of Humanity as visualised by Comte would offer a good parallel to the philosopher-ruler of Plato. The most efficacious technic for the regeneration of man and the establishment of the new social order, according to both Comte and Plato, is education. The priests are to be the supreme directors of education. Both in the *Republic* and the *Laws* Plato gives us an educational curriculum. The guardians are to be in charge of education. Both the priests and the guardians are to see that there are no deviations from the code of morality. The priests and the guardians represent the supremacy of the element of rational cognition. They indicate the triumph of reason in social and political life.

But there are two differences between the conceptions of the priests and the guardians. The guardians are a sovereign body. They represent the sovereignty of reason. There are four fundamental principles which the guardians are not expected to tamper with, otherwise they have the fullness of political power. They are

the holders of sovereign power. But the Comtean priests are expected only to advise and to influence. They exert authority by dint of their intellectual and moral eminence. According to Comte, there is a separate body of people composed of bankers, industrialists and agriculturists who represent the employers and are in charge of exercising the ordinary functions of governance. In the Comtean scheme there is a separation between the priests and the governors and this is based on the principle of transition from theocracy to sociocracy. Thus while in the Platonic scheme knowledge is attributed the function of rulership, in the Comtean scheme it has only the more modest but immensely important function of advice and influence. Another difference between the priests and the guardians is that the latter represent the crystallization of wisdom while the former are expected also to possess prudence and courage. In the scheme of Platonic ethics courage is regarded as the quality of the auxiliaries or soldiers. Prudence as an ethical quality is prominently mentioned in Aristotelian ethics but it does not have much importance in the Platonic ethics.

Nevertheless, in spite of these differences, (the first difference being very fundamental), there is a conceptual similarity between the two schemes which is of enormous significance. Both Plato and Comte represent a disillusionment with the institutional and mechanical solution of social and economic problems. Both condemn the evils of economic accumulation. Hence they sponsor the elimination of the perversities of wealth. The priests are to have a fixed salary and the guardians are to be given a quantity of grains required for their annual consumption. Both Plato and Comte are critics of system of profit-making and concentration of wealth. Both felt, hence, the necessity of a moral and intellectual transformation of humanity. They provide a *metasocial* solution for social problems. This fundamental orientation is common to both and this finds its theoretical expression in the attribution of primacy to the priests and the guardians in their respective schemes. The vital trend to ascribe supremacy to the element of reason which we find in Plato is re-echoed in Comte.

In his deep and profound concern for the regeneration of the human soul and mind Plato felt that the golden age was in the past. He idealized the old forgotten aristocracy, if ever there was one. In his philosophy of history aristocracy is replaced by oligarchy, oligarchy is supplanted by democracy and democracy yields to the iron hand of tyranny. History is a pale reflection of reality—a

meaningless tale of progressive deterioration. The only hope for mankind is to recapture the spirit of virtue which concretely operated in the past polities. Comte was far more optimistic about the contemporary situation. He was inspired by the concept of progress heralded by Turgot and Condorcet and championed by Saint-simon. Comte's optimism is remarkable in contrast to the pessimistic prognostications of some economists like Malthus. When some of the evolutionists were painting the picture of a grim struggle in nature, Comte put forward the exalted gospel of the replacement of conquest and aggression by industry. The triumph of industry means the operation of cooperation and harmony. Comte felt that in the future, women more and more were to play a moderating role and their leadership in the social and political fields would introduce some further elements of decency and culture in human lives. Comte's concept of a religion of humanity is a testification to his belief in the possibility of the emancipation of humanity.

4. CONCLUSION:

Plato flourished at a time when Greece was divided in city-states. He knew about the Egyptian and Persian empires but he was never an imperialist. He felt that a medium-sized city-state was best fitted for serving the political requirements of man. He was a champion of self-sufficiency of the small city-state. Hence he was opposed to trade and commerce. He did not believe in accumulation. His hope lay in the intellectual regeneration and spiritual perfection of the city-state. Metaphysically speaking, he championed the cause of objective idealism and preached the supremacy of the idea of good. On such an idealistic metaphysical basis he could as well have formulated a political utopia to be applicable to all humanity since the ideas transcend all categories of social and political limitations. But many centuries had to pass before the vast masses of humanity could be considered a recognizable and honourable social and political community. Even when some apo'logists of a Christian republic or commonwealth talked of *universitas hominum* they had in mind only the geographical horizons of western Europe. Hence I can not blame a writer of the fourth century B.C., although he is a prophet with encyclopaedic wisdom as Plato, for not being able to talk in terms of the regeneration of the world. In those days of crude technology and the absence of even elementary knowledge of world geography it would have been no less than an intellectual miracle if Plato could have written about the institutional founda-

tions of the perfection of mankind. Comte's vision is more cosmopolitan. He does not regard the sovereign nation-states as the final focus of political attention. He talks about the elevation of the entire human race. He felt that his scheme of positive priesthood could be extended to the whole of humanity. Beyond the state based on collective altruism he posited the race based on universal altruism. He pleaded for the emancipation of man from theocratic restraints. We today talk of one world, the inner oneness of man, decentralization of economic and political authority and a world state based on the federal pattern. We plead for the renunciation of the creed of sovereignty. We enunciate tolerance, regard, sympathy and genuine cooperation. At such a time we can find more theoretical support for our ideas in the writings of Comte than of Plato.

From the methodological standpoint, it may be pointed out, that the orientations of both Plato and Comte need some amendment. Plato regarded the community as the objectivization and magnification of human minds. The vital principles operative in the human psyche were externalized at the level of the state. Plato metaphorically enunciates this view in his statement in the *Republic* that the mind represents the small letters and the state represents the big letters are the *same* nonetheless. Hence he pointed out that for the social and political regeneration of the *polis* it was essential to effectuate a moral revolution in the human mind through the process of state-controlled education. Thus, according to Plato, the mechanism for political and social betterment is the ennoblement and refinement of the human mind. Plato gives us a psychological approach to the problem of the successive transformations of the different polities. In the decline of human society as indicated in the successive transitions from aristocracy to tyranny, through timocracy, oligarchy and democracy, is to be traced the decline of the human soul. Behind the economic process of pauperization Plato deciphers the working of the perversities and corruptions of the human soul. He is thoroughly aware of the operations of political and economic factors in history but he refuses to consider the ultimate. Behind the political and the economic factors is to be seen the triumphant force of the human mind. Only by affecting and impinging upon the human mind do even political and economic factors become active and operative. Plato's explanation of the dynamics of politics and history is thoroughly cast in terms of psychology.

Plato had divided the human soul or mind into three constituent parts—the rational part with wisdom as its virtue, the part

whose specific virtue is courage and the appetitive part. Comte also divides the human mind in three compartments, the cognitive, the conative and the volitional parts, in accordance with Gall's phrenology. If according to Plato, the state is the magnification and objectification of the mind, according to Comte human history bears the fundamental impress of these three mental forces in action. The family, state and race are the associational expressions of human emotion. The successive operations of conquest, defence and industry are the external expressions of the concept of action. The intellectual evolution of humanity is indicated in the emergence of the theological, metaphysical and positive stages of thought. Thus it is clear that Comte accepts a psychological interpretation of history.

It is true that the psychological interpretation of history and politics cannot be considered the final verdict on the problems of social causation. The social reality is multi-dimensional. It has many facets and aspects. It is a heterogenous and complex phenomenon. It has infinite currents and cross-currents penetrating and interpenetrating each other. There are numerous diversities and dynamic transformations going on constantly in it. It is a gross error to think that this complex apartment can reveal all its secrets through one master-key. Some people propound the technological and economic theory of historical interpretation. Some regard history as the manifestation of the world-spirit. Some would find in history the dynamic operation of the gigantic influence of climate or industry or the racial factor. All these explanations are partly correct. They do provide clarification of the intricacies of significant areas. Taken as final dispensations they are wrong but interpreted as partial suggestions they are quite revealing. They are to be treated as working hypotheses and not as grand cosmic philosophies. I do not think that the psychological approach of Plato and Comte is a complete view either. But I regard it as very suggestive. Ours generally has become a mechanical and naturalistic world-view with the impact of the ideas of Kepler, Galileo, Newton, Lagrange, Darwin and Pavlov. Hence we tend to be engrossed in the scientific study of the uniformities of phenomena. We have a proneness to regard the human mind as a reflex of the physical and social substructure. Hence we relate each possible style of action and operation of the human mind to some more powerful external phenomena. It is true that the human mind is no longer regarded as an entity or substance. Neither is it considered a bundle of impressions and ideas linked together by the law of association. But I do not think it possible to reduce the

dynamics of the mind to the mechanical effectuations of the external environment and society. Even if we do not accept any metaphysical explanation of the human mind, as social scientists we have to accept at least this much that through the course of historical evolution and the accumulated heritage of cultural advance the human mind has become a supremely important factor in any scheme of social calculation. No scheme of social planning, organization and reconstruction can succeed if it is unmindful of the role of the creative human mind. Plato was thinking in terms of the transformation of the polis. Comte was thinking in terms of the regeneration of the human race. The one wanted to stem the tide of rising logical sophism, power politics and economic tyranny by pleading the cause of the supremacy of philosophical knowledge. Comte was unsympathetic to the rising trends of industrial capitalism and technology. He did not see any hope for the human race in the mechanical gospel of an institutional socialism either. He recognized the values of tradition and private property. Hence he pleaded for the creation of a class of non-theological priests who will be the educational leaders, moral guides and political advisors of the people and the government. History has frustrated the realization of the concrete details of the Platonic and the Comtean utopia. But in any comprehensive scheme of social and political reconstruction we can never overlook the supreme value of the intellectual and moral transformation of man which has been so emphatically enunciated by these supreme leaders of thought.

STUDY OF SANSKRIT IN THE USSR

O. VOLKOVA

The study of India's ancient language, Sanskrit, and its vast literature was started in Russia more than 200 years ago. Russian Sanskritology is associated with the names of such outstanding scholars as I.P. Minayev, S.F. Oldenburg, F.I. Shcherbatskoi and others.

BEFORE THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Prior to the revolution Russian Sanskritology developed two trends. The first trend (the earlier), the linguistic one, was expressed in the publication of Indian literature on grammar and various Sanskrit texts and also of two Sanskrit dictionaries—Complete (1852-1875) and Short (1879-1885)—which became widely known throughout the world as the "Petersburg Dictionaries". The second trend, Buddhological, consisted in the large-scale study of Buddhism. Publication of the "Bibliotheca Buddhica" series was launched in the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1897 on the initiative of Academician S. Oldenburg. Scientists of different countries took part in it.

In addition to research work and the publication of original Sanskrit texts, translations of works of Sanskrit literature, at first from European languages and then directly from the Sanskrit, appeared in Russia since the end of the 18th century.

IN THE SOVIET PERIOD

Study of Sanskrit in Russia was given a further impetus by the October revolution. Oriental Language Institutes were set up in Moscow and Petrograd, (now Leningrad) in 1920 by decree, signed by V.I. Lenin. Together with a study of contemporary India, its living languages and literature, these institutes are continuing to develop the traditional trend of Russian Sanskritology.

Scholars of the older generation, Academicians S. Oldenburg and F. Shcherbatskoi, continued their studies of Buddhism. It was in the Soviet period that Academician F. Shcherbatskoi wrote his best, widely known works on Buddhist culture such, for example, as "The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word 'Dharma' ", "The Conception of Buddhist Nirvana" and "Buddhist Logic."

Among the scholars who studied Buddhism were also the pupils of Academician Shcherbatskoi, Rosenberg, who made a valuable study of Buddhism on the basis of Japanese and Chinese sources, and Obermiller, who published a number of studies of classics of Buddhist literature published not only in the Soviet Union but also in India and in Europe. The "Bibliotheca Buddhica" series, edited by Oldenburg and Shcherbatskoi, was continued in the Academy of Sciences up to 1936.

STUDY OF INDIAN FOLKLORE AND ART

Academician Oldenburg, in addition to Buddhism, engaged in a comparative study of Indian folklore and art. Of great interest were his serial lectures on the culture of India, read by him in the Institute of the History of Culture. These lectures were prepared for the press by Academician I. Krachkovsky and will be published in the near future.

Besides studying Buddhism, Soviet Sanskritologists have worked on the problems of the Sanskrit grammar. Academician Shcherbatskoi translated the popular Sanskrit grammar "Laghu-Siddhanta-Kaumudi." V. Kalyanov, a pupil of Shcherbatskoi, prepared his thesis for a master's degree on the subject "Compound Words in Sanskrit" in which he elucidated on word-formation in classic Sanskrit on the basis of the Indian classification, worked out in the grammar of Patanjali in the second century B.C.

TRANSLATION OF "ARTHASHASTRA" AND OTHER SANSKRIT CLASSICS

Together with research, Soviet Sanskritologists continued to translate Sanskrit classics of history, philosophy and literature. In 1930 a group was set up, headed by Academician Shcherbatskoi, for translating the "Arthashastra," the political and economic work of ancient India. The first book was translated by Academician Oldenbrug and the main part by Obermiller. Separate sections were translated by Academician Shcherbatskoi, his pupil Vostrikov and others.

In creative literature translations were made of Dandin's novel "Dashakumaracharita", separate hymns of the Rigveda and Atharvaveda, "The Stories of Vetala" and "Pancha-tantra." Specially noteworthy in this connection are the translations into the Ukrainian of Kalidasa's lyrical poem "Meghaduta" and the verses of Bhāṭṛihari made by Professor Ritter of Kharkov University.

A number of translations are being prepared for the press: two epic poems of Kalidasa—"Kumara-Sambhava" and "Raghuvamsa", "Amarushataka" and "Sukhasaptaki", a translation of "Jatakamala" of "Aryashura" by Academician A. Barannikov. Of particular interest are Lokhtin's translations of 9 Upanishads, recently bought by the Institute of Oriental Studies and kept in the Oriental Manuscript Department.

STUDY OF INDIAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURE CONDUCTED IN NUMEROUS INSTITUTES

The study of the culture of ancient India, her language, literature, history, philosophy and economy, is conducted in a number of research institutes and educational establishments of the Soviet Union—in Leningrad and Moscow Universities, in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Moscow, and its branch in Leningrad, the Linguistics Institute and the Institute of World Literature. In Leningrad University Academicians Shcherbatskoi and Barannikov taught Sanskrit for many years. In Moscow University Sanskrit was taught by Professors Shor and Peterson. Leningrad and Moscow Universities have trained a number of Sanskritologists who are successfully studying the ancient culture of India.

TRANSLATION OF "MAHABHARATA"

V. Kalyanov, who is working in the Leningrad branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (USSR Academy of Sciences), published in 1950 his translation of the first chapter of the Mahabharata and is now engaged in translating the subsequent chapters of this remarkable Indian epic.

Of the alumni of the Leningrad University first mention should be made of V. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky who studied central Asian manuscripts in the Sanskrit, Sak, Kachin and Tibetan languages. His dissertation for a master's degree "Historical Development of Personal Pronouns in the Indo-Aryan Languages" merited attention.

Untimely death cut short his fruitful scientific activities when he was in his prime. The work of the late scientist with regard to the study of Central Asian manuscripts is continued by his wife M. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya.

V. Erman who studies Sanskrit drama is working in the Leningrad branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. He translated the historic drama by Vishakhadatta "Mudraraksasha".

T. Yelizarenkova, who is working in the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow, prepared her thesis for a master's degree on the subject: "Classes of Verbs in the Ancient Indian Language (Rigveda)". Yelizarenkova is now making a comparative study of the ancient Indian verb and is also translating some hymns of the Rigveda as well as a number of excerpts from the shastras. The history of ancient India is studied by G. Ilyin who translated a number of excerpts from the "Laws of Mānu" and the "Artha-shastra."

A special sector for the study of the history of the philosophy and culture of India has been set up recently in the Institute of Oriental Studies. It is headed by Y.N. Rerikh.

Soviet Sanskritologists, by studying various problems of the language, literature, history and philosophy of ancient India and acquainting the people of the Soviet Union with the inexhaustible wealth of India's culture, are making a big contribution towards the consolidation of friendship between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union.

EVOLUTION OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN INDIA IN THE 19TH CENTURY.

TARASANKAR BANERJEE M.A.

Research Scholar.

Within a Century after the battle of Plassey the process of bringing the Indian subcontinent under the British sway was practically complete. With the assumption of political power, the British system of justice and administration was gradually introduced. But the form of government was clearly dictatorial; the Parliament of England accepting the responsibility of India's welfare. Introduction of the representative institutions was not dreamt of. For purposes of administration, the Governor was given autocratic powers and he was to be advised by an executive Council. The Governor was also given the power of law-making aided by a Council which was nothing but the executive Council in the legislative capacity. The functions of the legislative Council were only to meet the local needs, most of the important legislations being enacted by the Parliament.

Englishmen did not perhaps suppose that India's subjection to British rule was permanent. "The ultimate enfranchisement of India was implicit in Burke's doctrine of trusteeship, since the guardian's duty ends when his ward comes of age."¹ In a letter dated 27th October, 1822, Thomas Munro wrote: "besides the necessity of having good native advisers in governing natives, it is necessary that we should pave the way for the introduction of the natives to some share in the government of their own country. It may be half a century before we are obliged to do so; but the system of government which we have already established must some time or other work such a change in the people of this country that it will be impossible to confine them to subordinate employment; and if we have not previously opened vents for their ambition and ability, we may expect an explosion which will overturn our government"² Henry Lawrence and others prophesied that the British.

¹ Coupland—Constitutional problems in India.

² See R. C. Dutta—Economic History of India under Early British rule p. 334.

Government would govern till the people of India became "sufficiently enlightened to frame a regular government for themselves, and to conduct and preserve it." These are, however, personal views and have nothing to do with the actual policy of those who guided the destiny of the Indian affairs. Their policy found an expression in the speeches in the House of Commons during the debates on the Charter Bill of 1833. Macaulay, who developed a deep interest in Indian affairs, was very optimistic about the future of India. "Having become instructed in European knowledge," he said, "they may in some future age, demand European institutions." But Macaulay suffered from a great dichotomy. The system of representative government, he thought to be the best for any nation. Its introduction in India, however, would have been, premature. "In India you cannot have representative institutions. Of all innumerable speculators who have offered their suggestions on Indian politics, not a single one of them has ever maintained the possibility of giving at present such institutions to India."³ "Though Macaulay expressed his hope that in course of time the people of India would become fitted for representative government, he did not suppose that the growth of representative government in India could be permanently compatible with the maintenance of British rule".⁴ Macaulay would, therefore, grant India the second best- "a firm and impartial despotism"⁵ and he was ready "to engraft on despotism those blessings which are natural fruits of liberty". Coupland defended Macaulay by saying that "for diverse races in India the evolution of the representative government seemed in Macaulay's days impossible". Macaulay is not the only person to deny the feasibility of the representative institutions in India. In the select Committee of the House of Commons in 1832 James Mill was asked: "Do you consider in the present state of society in India, anything approaching to representation out of question.?" "I conceive wholly so," he emphatically replied. In his "consideration on Representative Government" John Stuart Mill also repudiated representative institutions in India. He took it for granted that India was not "a sufficiently advanced state to be fitted for representative government." Therefore, under the Charter Act of 1833, the Government of India was a purely official government, because the power of legislation was vested in the Governor-General-in-Council alone.

³ Macaulay—Speeches.

⁴ Coupland.

⁵ Legislative Minute No. 10 (without date)

A distinction was, however, made between the Executive and the Legislative Councils. This was nothing but an academic distinction. "The distinction I made," said Macanlay in his speech, "between the Legislative Council and the Executive was not in relation to the personnel of the bodies but to the functions". Executive government practically annexed the power of law-making.

There is nothing surprising in it because the administrative policy of India in the first half of the 19th century was practically determined not by philosophers and statesmen but by merchants and manufacturers. They naturally looked primarily at their own trade and manufacturing interests and cared little for the native sentiments. What is deplorable is that notwithstanding the first wave of renaissance in Bengal, the then most advanced part of India, there was no counter pressure for representation. Even Rammohun Roy was not in favour of representative institutions. He thought it better to rely on the enlightened public opinion of England and wanted that the laws should be passed by the king-in-Parliament. While such an opinion would seem to-day to be a crude absurdity, the argument of the Raja was that if a representative legislative Council was set up in India, it would be dominated by the Executive which could not rise above passion or prejudice. There is, no doubt, some truth in the apprehension of the Raja. In the inaugural meeting of the British India Society in 1843, Ramgopal Ghosh declared, "he desired nothing more sincerely than the perpetuity of the British sway in this country." Girish Chandra Ghosh went so far as to say that the educated Indians had not yet become fit for taking the responsibility of the country on their own shoulders.⁶ Nabagopal Mitra holds that ideally the best form of Government is representative Government and it should be adopted wherever there are no serious practical difficulties. But along with John Stuart Mill, he contends that there are serious practical difficulties in the way of establishing representative Government in India. 'The masses are not educated, there is no spring of spontaneous improvement in the people themselves, and there is lack of solidarity amongst classes. So he concludes that despotism is more suited to the condition of India than representative Government.' In the *Bharatbarshiya Upasak Sampraday* (Vol II, introduction) Akshoy Kumar Datta wrote: "Goethe died with the words light more light', we too in the dying condition are crying England pity more

⁶ See Majumdar—History of Political thought Vol I, Bengal.

pity". This was the sentiment of even the educated Indians of that time.

In the middle of the 19th century, faintly and far across the Seas, was heard the first demand for representation from the people of India. The Madras Native Association and the Native inhabitants of the Madras Presidency demanded native representation. The members of the Bombay Association submitted "that the time has arrived when the Natives of India are entitled to a much larger share than they have hitherto had in the administration of the affairs of the country." In 1852 the members of the British Indian Association and other native inhabitants of the Bengal Presidency submitted for the consideration of the Parliament "the propriety of constituting a legislative Council at Calcutta composed of 17 members—3 selected from among the most respectable and qualified native inhabitants of each presidency to represent the natives thereof, one member appointed by the Governor of each presidency from among the senior civil officers and one member appointed by the crown". The British Indian Association thus put forward their cautious and almost timid claims for representation. But those who pulled the strings of the fate of the Indian people could easily override these timid claims. Before the Select Committee of the House of commons on Indian Territories, 1853, most of the witnesses gave adverse opinion on the question of representative institutions in India. Hill gave the following evidence :—

Hume—In the Legislative Council, as you would constitute it, would you include any natives as members?

David Hill—I do not think the introduction of natives as members of the Council would be of use.....

Hume—Is it your opinion that there are no natives in Bengal, whose qualifications would fit them as members of the Council to take part in discussions.....

Hill—That is my opinion.

What an absurd assumption it is! In his evidence Halliday also said: "I do not know whether I need to go on to say that I would not put natives upon such a Council; I must say that as a body the natives are unfit to be placed upon such a Council. There may be a rare case, and I know of such cases, of men who would be useful as members of such a council; but such men would by no means represent the natives; they would not even represent the natives of the country to which they nominally belong; still less

would they represent the people of India." The Charter Act of 1853, therefore, made no advance in the direction of the representative government. What it achieved was the addition of judicial elements to the legislative council in order to introduce the "improved spirit of legislation."

Things began to change after the shock caused by the Mutiny. The events of 1857 gave a strong impetus to the realisation of representative institutions in India. The assumption of direct control by Parliament under the Act of 1858 was not the only result of that catastrophe. Political leaders began to talk of the defects in the system of legislation which were considered to have created a gap of ignorance and misunderstanding between the British rulers and the people of India. Bartle Fere, in his famous minute, clearly saw the danger in continuing "to legislate for millions of people, with a few means of knowing except by a rebellion, whether the laws suit them or not." He, accordingly, advocated "the addition of native element" to the system of legislation. In his speech on the Indian Councils Bill, 1861, Sir Charles Wood also appreciated the difficulties of legislating for India. He was wise enough to observe: "It would be folly to shut our eyes to the increasing difficulties of our position in India, and it is an additional reason why we should make the earliest endeavour to put all our institutions on the soundest possible foundations." He also rightly observed that it was notoriously difficult for any European to make himself intimately acquainted with the feelings and opinion of the native population. Therefore, Charles Wood believed that "greater advantages will result from admitting the native chiefs to cooperate with us for legislative purposes." But it seems to be a mere political strategy in view of the fact that Wood was dictated by the idea "to conciliate— the minds of natives of high rank." "After the Mutiny the conciliation of the minds of natives of high rank was an urgent political necessity."

Not only the leaders, but even the Civil Servants strongly felt the necessity of changing the legislative set-up. They were, however, concerned with the technical aspect of the question. Mr. M'cleod, a distinguished Civil Servant gave the following evidence :

"The Governor-General with four members of Council, however highly qualified those individuals may be, is not altogether a competent legislature for the great Empire."

Mr. Hill another prominent Civil Servant opined that "it would be a

great improvement if the council was reinforced by the addition of some competent persons—so that there should be a more numerous deliberative body.” Actually the problem that troubled the politicians was what should be done with regard to the system of legislation in India. One of the proposals was that “the power of legislation should rest entirely on the Executive but there should be a consultative body.” Sir Charles Wood considered it to be “quite impossible to revert to a state of things in which the Executive Government alone legislated for the country.” The opposite extreme was naturally a representative government. But Sir Wood did not hesitate to say: “I am quite sure that every one who considers the condition of India will see it utterly impossible to constitute such a body in that country.” The establishment of a representative legislature was considered to be “physically impossible.” “To talk of a native representation is, therefore, to talk of that which is simply and utterly impossible.”⁸ The granting of representation to English settlers in India was also considered dangerous from the Imperial point of view.

The Indian Councils Act, 1861, therefore, cut a *via-media*, clause 10 of the Act provided that “for the better exercise of the power of making laws vested in the Governor-General in Council, the Governor-General shall nominate, in addition to the ordinary and extraordinary members such persons, not less than 6 nor more than 12 in number . . . to be members of Council for the purpose of making laws only.” One-half of the persons so nominated shall be non-official persons. They may be either Europeans, persons of European extraction, or natives. No statutory provision was made for the admission of Indians to the Legislative Council, but as a matter of practice, some of the non-official seats were offered to them. Mr. A. H. (afterwards Sir Henry) Layard proposed in the House of Commons to insert an injunction directing that a certain number of the additional members of the Council, for the purposes of legislation should be natives of India. “But the Secretary of State considered it undesirable to make statutory distinction in this connection between different classes of Her Majesty’s subjects.”⁹

Coupland’s contention that “the Act of 1861 may be said to have introduced the representative principle into the Indian constitution” can hardly be accepted. It was not even a shadow of the representative government in the English sense of the term. The majority in

⁸ Sir Wood’s Speech in the House of Commons June 6, 1861.

⁹ Camb. Hist. of India, Vol. VI.

the Council were still officials who would always support the government. The non official elements, who were always a minority, could not be 'expected to exert much influence.' Moreover, they cannot be said to be true representatives of the people as they were only nominated by the Governor-General. Sir Charles Wood also asserted that the new Council "was not intended to be a representative law-making body in the normal sense of the term." "You cannot possibly", opined Sir Wood, "assemble at any one place in India persons who shall be the real representatives of the various classes of that Empire." But, it is evident that only in the Imperial interests, the British Government harped so much on the diversity in India. It was a convenient plea to hide their actual intentions. That the British Government did not want to grant an independent representative assembly was evident in a letter of Sir Charles Wood to Lord Elgin: "We took very great pains throughout the Act to avoid any word which could favour the action of the separate existence of a legislative Council."¹⁰ The Council of 1853 had become "a sort of debating society, or pretty parliament," and Sir Charles Wood made it clear that he was not prepared to allow the transformation of the legislative Council into "an Anglo-Indian House of Commons."

Another striking fact was revealed in the 'Mont-Ford Report on Evolution of Indian Legislature.' In the report it was said that of the various events that "contributed to precipitate the passing of the Indian Councils Act, 1861 was the presentation of an address by the Governor-General's Legislative Council "asking that certain correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India should be communicated to it." The British Government was naturally alarmed and "partly at least out of the anxiety to prevent the authority of the Executive being impaired by any other rival institution, it has been expressly declared that the council is a mere committee of the Government." It is now clear that the real intention of the Imperial authority was to tighten its grip on the Indian administration. How can it then grant representative institutions to India? In short "the legislative Councils established by the Act of 1861 were committees by means of which the Executive Government obtained help and advice in legislation."¹¹ The show of representation was nothing but a political balm on the sore caused by the Mutiny. But the usefulness of native representation was accepted

¹⁰ See Morison—Life of Lord Elgin.

¹¹ Camb. Hist. of India Vol. VI.

at least in theory. The following observations of Sir George Campbell are interesting :

“ my strong feeling was that the native and non-official members are much more useful The native members really understood the questions that came before them and gave most material assistance ; in many respects they truly represented native opinion.”¹²

“The two decades following upon the Indian Councils Act, saw the emergence of an intelligentsia with an increasing interest in the administration of the country.”¹³ The political complexion of India was fast changing. The western-educated elite were not satisfied with mere western form. They had learnt much of British constitutional struggles and the spirit of nationalism scorched their souls. The critics of the ‘Liberal’ group of thinkers and the rising Extremists had already waged an intellectual revolution. They found in the representative self-government a penacea for all evils. In 1870 Dakshinaranjan Mukhopadhyay drew up a plan for constituting “a representative Legislature.” He proposed that in each province there should be a provincial representative council “composed of Government nominees and representatives of the people in equal numbers.” Sisir Kumar Ghosh, the “political Guru” of Tilak was the staunchest advocate of representative institutions. “Nothing short of a representative form of government in some shape ought to be demanded, for those who are taxed should at least be permitted to choose the mode in which the assessment ought to be made.”¹⁴ He was severe in condemnation of the then existing Legislative Council, as they did not represent the people in any way. In an article entitled “Legislation by foreigners” he contended that foreigners could never make good laws in an ancient country like India. “India has a civilization of its own. It is a distinct country from England and its people have distinctive features acquired by an exclusive civilization of thousands of years. It is not for a foreigner to come and at once unravel the gordian knot. It is not for a foreigner to come and analyse the manners, customs civilization and genius of such an intelligent and exclusive race which India is peopled with.”¹⁵ In 1867 Mr. W. C. Banerjee while studying in England, delivered a lecture on “Representative and Responsible Government of India.” In course

¹² Memoirs of My Indian Career Vol. II.

¹³ V. P. Menon—Transfer of Power in India

¹⁴ Amrita Bazar Patrika, 1st Sept. 1870.

¹⁵ „ 6th July 1876.

of this lecture he said: "My opinion is that there ought to be a Representative Assembly and a Senate sitting in India." The Vernacular Press Act poured oil on an already inflammable public opinion. The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 which was the most important milestone on the road to India's freedom. The Congress took up, at once, the cause of the suffering people and waged an intellectual revolt. In the subsequent sessions the congress laid stress on, *inter alia*, "the development of self-government by means of representative councils both in the centre as well as in the provincial Government."¹⁶ In his Presidential address in the Calcutta session of 1886, Dadabhai Naroji said: "If you have your representatives to represent your feelings, you will then have an opportunity of getting something which is congenial and satisfactory to yourself; and what will be satisfactory to you must also be satisfactory to and good for the government itself." Thus, Macaulay's, vision, at long last, came to be true. 'European knowledge had created a demand for European institutions.'

Lord Dufferin, the then Governor-General of India, characterised the Congress as "microscopic minority" in India whose demands were but "a big jump into the unknown." "These persons ought to know," he said, "that in the present condition of India there can be no real or effective representation of the people, with their enormous members, their multifarious interests, and their tessellated nationalities."¹⁷ He would not allow European democratic agitation in India. The Congress was, however adamant. It sent a delegation, to England headed by Sir S. N. Banerjee, who delivered fiery lectures at Oxford. Lord Dufferin felt that it was time some positive policy should be drawn up to meet Indian aspirations. He appointed a committee of his executive council to elaborate a scheme. The committee's report was sent to the Secretary of State in Nov. 1838 along with a minute by Lord Dufferin in which he explained that the reform of the council must not be interpreted as "an approach.....to English Parliamentary Government." In 1888 Lord Dufferin left India, and early in the following year, he was succeeded by Lord Lansdowne. "Lord Lansdowne's Government stood to their guns. They urged that they should not be precluded from resort to some form of election where conditions justified belief in it."¹⁸ He had also sent in a despatch a draft bill

¹⁶ See Sitaramayya—Hist. of Indian National Congress.

¹⁷ Speech of the St. Andrew's Dinner Nov. 30, 1888.

¹⁸ Mont-Ford Report.

upon which he invited the opinions of the Central and Provincial Governments.

On the basis of these schemes, the Indian Council's Bill was drafted and passed in 1892. Under clause I, subsection I, the additional members of the Council nominated by the Governor-General "shall not be less than 10 nor more than 16." There was no reference to anything resembling elective representative body. The subsection 4 of clause 1, however, stated that "the Governor-General-in-Council may from time to time, with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, make regulations as to the conditions under which such nominations or any of them shall be made." Lord Kimberley did not hesitate to say: "I myself believe that under this clause it would be possible for the Governor-General to make arrangements by which certain persons may be presented to him, having been chosen by election, if the Governor-General should find that such a system can be established." During the debates in the House of Commons one Mr. Maclean asked Curzon (then under Secretary): "Does the Government accept that view of Lord Kimberley?" Lord Curzon emphatically asserted in the affirmative and said: "Under this Act it would be in the power of the Viceroy to invite representative bodies in India to elect or select or delegate representatives of themselves." He also declared that the Bill "did not exclude some such principle be the method election, or selection or delegation or whatever particular phrase they liked to employ....." A clear twist in the language is evident and Curzon contradicted his own statement by saying: "the idea of representation was alien to the Indian mind. No system of representation ever devised which could bear 24 hours' test of operation could possibly represent the people of India." Lord Salisbury then Prime Minister, pointed out that elective or representative government was not an 'Eastern idea' and it works will only when "all those who are represented desire the same thing." Mr. Gladstone, in his speech, admitted that the bill's "language is insufficient and unsatisfactory in as far as it is ambiguous." "While the language of the bill," he continued, "cannot be said to embody the elective principle, it is very peculiar language, unless it is intended to pave the way for the adoption of that principle." Is it unjustified to say that the ambiguous drafting was purposeful? Why was the term election scrupulously avoided? Lord Lansdowne, however, tried to defend his Government by saying: "it would be altogether hopeless to attempt the introduction of a representative system in the sense in which the words are understood

in western communities." Does the Subsection 4 of clause 1 of the Act of 1892 then amount to an 'Eastern' modification of the representative principle? No answer can be obtained. Even in the Mont-Ford Report it was admitted that "the term election was sedulously eschewed."

Thus, even in the closing years of the 19th century, representative Government in India in the true sense of the term was a far cry. The Congress was disillusioned and the nationalist sentiment had been wounded. In his Presidential address in the Calcutta session in 1890 Mr. Firoz Shah Mehta remarked that the India Bill was 'a most halting and unsatisfactory measure.' In the Poona Congress of 1895 S. N. Banerjee gave the warning signal: "Caution is an element of statesmanship but caution carried on to an excess is a mistake and may even amount to a blunder." But how long could the sentiments and the rights of the Indian people be ignored? At last the giant had awakened from a deep and long slumber and was ready to wrest his rights—an attempt that could hardly be checked.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN TODAY.

GLENN L. EMMONS,

Commissioner, Department of the Interior Bureau of Indian Affairs Washington, D.C.

People from all parts of the world, I have found from talking with foreign diplomats or visitors in Washington, are intensely interested in American Indians. A few have read the novels of James Fenimore Cooper or the histories of Francis Parkman or William Prescott. Still more have read Longfellow's "Hiawatha," or have heard some of the more romantic legends centering around such famous Indian personalities as Pocahontas, Sacajawea (the Bird Woman), or Chief Sitting Bull. But most Europeans and Asians, I suspect, have learned about our Indians through the thousands of "Indian-and-cowboy" films which Hollywood has so lavishly circulated around the world.

Now, some of these exciting pictures of pursuit and battle are fairly authentic re-creations of life in the American West of 75 or 100 years ago. Some even are sufficiently true and objective as to show that not all white settlers and cowboys were noble and virtuous and not all Indians were wily and deceitful. But insofar as they tend to create the impression that American Indians still live half-naked in wigwams under the watchful eye of the United States Army or, escaping such surveillance, make raids on innocent white settlements, they are completely false. Today most Indians dress just like other Americans, ride automobiles instead of ponies, and when they go to town it is usually merely to stock up on groceries at the local supermarket or, possibly, to see a "wild-West" movie at the local cinema.

Today there are about 475,000 people in the United States who would ordinarily be identified as Indians, and probably about three-fourths of them come within the scope of the responsibilities of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington. We have to be indefinite about Indian population figures because there is no official definition of an Indian. And, as many of them over the years have intermarried with members of other races, it is often impossible to distinguish their descendants from other Americans, Indians, moreover, who continue to live on reservations are, as American citizens, completely free to leave at any time and go where they please, and frequently do.

Also, the Federal Government's relationship to Indians varies greatly according to tribal membership, treaties and laws, place of residence, ownership of land, personal history and many other factors. At one extreme is a person of Indian blood who may live in New York, Boston or some other eastern city. We in Washington have no responsibility to him unless perhaps he owns some trust land in the West which we may help him to manage. At the other extreme are Indians who live on reservations in isolated parts of the West and who continue to need special services from the Federal Government in the way of education, medical treatment, and economic development of their land resources. In the current fiscal year the Federal Government is spending about \$150,000,000 on such services.

You may have heard about the few Indians who, in the last few decades, have suddenly become relatively rich through the discovery of oil, natural gas, or uranium in their lands. The Navajos, for example, one of our largest and hitherto poorest tribes, recently through mineral leases came into the possession of more than \$63,000,000 which they are shrewdly and cautiously investing or expending on educational and business enterprises designed to benefit all of their people. But most of our tribes continue to be distressingly poor. With a high birth rate and a declining death rate, their populations have in many cases outgrown the ability of the limited resources of their reservations to support them.

This, in a nutshell, is America's "Indian problem." It is not, let me emphasize, a problem of starvation. Most Indians have some income through wages, land leases, or per capita shares in tribal income. Those who have no income at all are provided for through State or Federal welfare programs. America has plenty of food and it is a national policy that no American, no matter what his race may be, shall go hungry. The problem, rather, is this: Because of several reasons—among which the growing disparity between population and land resources looms large—many of our Indians are still lagging behind other Americans in the general advance of living standards.

For too many years, I believe, our government pursued an overly paternalistic policy towards the Indians, keeping them apart from other Americans, and in many ways promoting a feeling of group dependency and discouraging initiative and self-reliance. Such a policy may have been necessary years ago to preserve peace and to protect the Indians against their more aggressive non-Indian

neighbors. But in today's orderly atmosphere, in which Indians move about as freely and as easily as other American citizens, it is clearly obsolete.

In conformity with this general belief, Congress in 1953 adopted an historic measure known as House Concurrent Resolution 108. This resolution, adopted without a dissenting vote, declared as the policy of the Congress of the United States that Federal trusteeship over Indians should be discontinued as rapidly as possible—that is, as rapidly as the circumstances of each tribe will permit. Thus the number one objective of Federal Indian policy today is to work with the Indian people and prepare them so that they may eventually make their own way as independent citizens without the benefit and handicap of Federal trusteeship over their property.

WHAT ARE WE DOING TO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE ?

I took office as commissioner of Indian Affairs on August 10, 1953. At that time there were three main spheres of need among the Indian people, in my opinion, that called for immediate and intensified action. First, the need for better health protection to reduce the appalling rates of infant mortality and tuberculosis and other infectious diseases which prevailed on so many reservations. Second was the need to give all Indian children an adequate education. And third was the need to provide Indian people with a wider range of economic opportunities so they could use their God given talents and skills to improve their living standards and make their full contribution to the cultural and social life of the nation.

We immediately set into operation our three-point program for the Indians : better health, adequate education, and economic development.

The health service was transferred to the United States Public Health Service. With their knowledgeable and experienced doctors and nurses, larger appropriations, and more clinics and hospitals the future of Indian health already looks decidedly brighter.

We immediately put into effect the Navajo emergency educational programs aimed at providing school seats for all of the 13,000 Navajo youngsters of school age who were then being denied an education because of lack of facilities. Over the past four years we have increased the school enrollment of Navajo children by more than 12,000 and have thus virtually accomplished our original objective. But because during the same period the Navajo school-age population increased by some 3,000 or more, we still have work to do ! We

have, of course, also enlarged or built new schools on other reservations or arranged for children to attend nearby public schools. The Bureau has long provided schools for Indians. The crisis in 1953 was to meet the needs of the post-war boom in babies.

In 1955 we launched an adult education program on a trial basis at five reservations where the need was especially evident. This program has produced some highly encouraging results and we have now extended it and made it a part of our regular annual budget.

To raise the living standards of Indians we are not only expanding larger sums for the development (through soil and moisture conservation measures, irrigation, and other methods) of Indian lands to take care of the maximum number of Indians who wish to use the lands, but have developed programs to assist the surplus population to prepare to make a living elsewhere. The relocation services program, which was started in 1952, assists any Indian who voluntarily requests such help to find work in another community. In 1957 we started an adult vocational training program to provide Indians with opportunities, at government expense, to learn crafts and skills at accredited schools throughout the country.

Many Indians, like other people, are not eager to leave the places where they grew up. To assist this group we have established a program of industrial development whereby we endeavor to induce manufacturers to set up plants near the reservations.

But, I can hear somebody objecting, this is what you are doing for the Indians today. How about what Americans did to Indians in the past? What about the land grabs and treaty violations?

Any honest American must concede that many such injustices occurred while this vast continent was being settled from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific. The American government officially recognized this fact by setting up in 1946 a special tribunal, the Indian Claims Commission, to consider and, if they prove their cases, to award money judgments to all Indian tribes or groups who believe they or their ancestors were unfairly treated by the United States Government. Over 800 claims were filed with the Commission. On January 4, 1958 its records showed that 125 claims had been settled with Judgments totaling \$23,632,000.

Before the Claims Commission was established Indians could present claims against the Government only with the permission of Congress. This usually meant years of agitation and effort even before a case was heard. The final awards, however, were sometimes substantial. In 1950, for example, the Court of Claims rendered a

judgment of \$32,000,000 to the Ute Bands of Utah and Colorado for payments rightfully due them on land cessions many years before.

The Indian Claims Commission is a quasi-judicial agency entirely separate from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and I therefore cannot speak for it. But I venture to suggest that no other nation has established a tribunal for the special purpose of attempting to right the wrongs done by its government so distantly in the past.

We in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, however, are concerned with the present and the future. We are working toward the day when the Indian, well educated, sound in body, self-supporting, and proud of his heritage as one of the original Americans, will take his rightful place in the march forward of all mankind.

HINDU MARRIAGE AND ITS LEGAL ASPECTS

AVINAS CHANDRA GUHA, M.A., B.L.

*Late Professor of Hindu Law, University Law College, Calcutta.**

Marriageable age of Girls :

अङ्गिराः । आवृत्ते तीर्थगमने प्रतिज्ञाते च कर्मणि । कालात्यये च कन्यायाः कालदोषो न विद्यते । अष्टवर्षा भवेद्गोरी नववर्षा तु रोहिणी । दशमे कन्यका प्रोक्ता अत ऊर्ध्वं रजस्वला । तस्मात् संवत्सरे प्राप्ते दशमे कन्यका बुधैः । प्रदातव्या प्रयत्नेन न दोषः कालदोषजः । कालदोषस्य विषयो राजमार्तण्डीये व्यक्ती भविष्यति । यमः । कन्या द्वादश वर्षाणि याऽप्रदत्ता गृहे वसेत् । ब्रह्महत्या पितुस्तस्याः सा कन्या वरयेत् स्वयम् । * * महाभारते । त्रिंशद्वर्षः षोडशाब्दां भार्यां विन्देत नग्निकाम् । अतोऽप्रवृत्ते रजसि कन्यां दद्यात् पिता सकृत् । महदेनः स्पृशेदेनमन्यथैष विधिः सताम् । नग्निकाऽनागतार्तवा । अन्यथा प्रवृत्ते रजसि । * * * स्मृतिसारे । सप्त संवत्सरादूर्ध्वं विवाहः सार्ववर्णिकः । कन्यायाः शस्यते राजन्नन्यथा धर्मगर्हितः ॥

Raghu., उद्वाहृतः (Ed. Venimādhava De. Calcutta, 1814 B.S., p. 577) ।

कन्याविवाहकाल उक्तो ज्योतिर्निबन्धे । षड्विंशत्ये नोद्वाहः कन्या वर्षद्वयं यतः । सोमो भुङ्क्ते ततस्तद्वन्मवर्षं तथाऽनलः । पराशरमाधवीये तु जन्मतो गर्भधानाद्वा पञ्चमाब्दात् परं शुभम् । कुमारीवरणं दानं मेखलाबन्धनं तथेत्युक्तम् । सम्बन्धत्यक्ते यमः । कन्या द्वादश वर्षाणि याऽप्रदत्ता वसेद्गृहे । ब्रह्महत्या पितुस्तस्य सा कन्या वरयेत् स्वयम् । भारते । त्रिंशद्वर्षः षोडशाब्दां भार्यां विन्देत नग्निकाम् । दशवर्षोऽष्टवर्षा वा धर्मे सीदति सत्वरः । अतोऽप्रवृत्ते रजसि कन्यां दद्यात् पिता सकृत् । तत्रैव । सप्त संवत्सरादूर्ध्वं विवाहः सार्ववर्णिकः । कन्यायाः शस्यते राजन्नन्यथा धर्मगर्हितः ...मनुः । त्रिंशद्वर्षोद्गृहेत् कन्यां हृद्यां द्वादश वार्षिकौम् । त्र्यष्ट वर्षोऽष्टवर्षा वा धर्मे सीदति सत्वरः ।

Nirṇayasindhu, तृतीय प० विवाह प्र०†

* Lectures on Hindu Law delivered in 1926-27, a portion. By courtesy of Sri Dvijendranātha Guhachaudhuri.

† S. Venkatesvara Steam Press ed., Bombay, text; N. S. Press, Bombay, 1901, pp. 227-28.

The Eight forms of Marriage :

- (1)
- Brāhma*
- : अलंकृत्य कन्यामुदकपूर्वा दद्यादेष ब्राह्मो विवाहः ।

Āśvalāyana-Gr̥hyasū, I. 6. 1.

आच्छाद्य चार्चयित्वा च श्रुतिशीलव्रते स्वयम् ।

आहूय दानं कन्याया ब्राह्मो धर्मः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

Manu, III. 27.

ब्राह्मो विवाह आहूय दीयते शक्त्यलंकृता ।

Yāj., I. 3. 58.

- (2)
- Daiva*
- : ऋत्विजे वितते कर्मणि दद्यादलंकृत्य स दैवः ।

Āśval.-Gr., I. 6. 1.

यज्ञे तु वितते सम्यग्ऋत्विजे कर्म कुर्वते ।

अलंकृत्य सुतादानं दैवं धर्मं प्रचक्षते ॥

Manu, III. 28.

यज्ञस्य ऋत्विजे दैवः ।

Yāj., I. 3. 59.

- (3)
- Ārṣa*
- : गोमिथुनं दत्त्वोपयच्छेत् स आर्षः ।

Āśval.-Gr., I. 6. 1.

एकं गोमिथुनं द्वे वा वरादादाय धर्मतः ।

कन्याप्रदानं विधिवदार्षो धर्मः स उच्यते ॥

Manu, III. 29.

आदायार्षस्तु गोद्वयम् ।

Yāj., I. 3. 59.

- (4)
- Prājāpatya*
- : सह धर्मं चरतमिति प्राजापत्यः ।

Āśval.-Gr., I. 6. 1.

सह नौ चरतां धर्ममिति वाचानुभाष्य च ।

कन्याप्रदानमभ्यर्च्य प्राजापत्यो विधि स्मृतः ॥

Manu, III. 30.

द्रव्यक्ता चरतां धर्मं सह या दीयतेऽर्थिने ।

स कायः ।

Yāj., I. 3. 60.

- (5)
- Āsura*
- : धनेनोपतोष्योपयच्छेत् स आसुरः ।

Āśval.-Gr., I. 6. 1.

ज्ञातिभ्यो द्रविणं दत्त्वा कन्यायै चैव शक्तितः ।

कन्याप्रदानं स्वाच्छन्द्यादासुरो धर्म उच्यते ॥

Manu, III. 31.

आसुरो द्रविणादानात् ।

Yāj., I. 3. 61.

(6) *Gāndharva* : मिथः समयं कृत्वोपयच्छेत् स गान्धर्वः ।

Āśval.-Gr., I. 6. 1.

इच्छयाऽन्योन्यसंयोगः कन्यायाश्च वरस्य च ।

गान्धर्वः स तु विज्ञेयो मैथुन्यः कामसम्भवः ॥

Manu, III. 32.

गान्धर्वः समयान्मिथः ।

Yāj., I. 3. 61.

(7) *Rākṣasa* : हत्वा भित्त्वा च शीर्षाणिरुदतीं रुदभ्यो हरेत् स राक्षसः ।

Āśval.-Gr., I. 6. 1.

हत्वा छित्त्वा च भित्त्वा च क्रोशन्तीं रुदतीं गृह्णात् ।

प्रसह्य कन्याहरणं राक्षसो विधिरुच्यते ॥

Manu, III. 33.

राक्षसो युद्धहरणात् ।

Yāj., I. 3. 61.

(8) *Paiśāca* : सुप्तानां प्रमत्तानां वा पहरेत् स पैशाचः ।

Āśval.-Gr., I. 6. 1.

सुप्तां मत्तां प्रमत्तां वा रहो यत्रोपगच्छति ।

स पापिष्ठो विवाहानां पैशाचश्चाष्टमोऽधमः ॥

Manu, III. 34.

पैशाचः कन्यकाकृलात् ।

Yāj., I. 3. 61.

Raghunandana commenting on the above texts of Yāj. :

आदायेति गोद्वयं वराद् गृहीत्वा तेनैव सह कन्यादानमार्घः । सह गोमिथुनेन चेति देवलवचनात् । सह धर्मं चरतामिति नियमं कृत्वा कन्यादानं कायः । कः प्रजापतिर्देवताऽस्येति प्राजापत्य इत्यर्थः । शास्त्रीय संख्यानियमं विना धनग्रहणादासुरः । अतो नार्घस्य तथात्वम् । कन्यावरयोरन्योन्यानुरागादयः समयस्त्वं मे भार्यात्वं मे पतिरिति निश्चयः सगान्धर्वः । युद्धेति वलात्कारोपलक्षणम् । एवभूतत्यागादनन्तरग्रहणे ब्राह्मण्यष्टनामको विवाह इति वर्तुलार्थः । गान्धर्वादी विधिमाह देवलः । गान्धर्वादि विवाहेषु विधिवैवाहिको मतः । कर्तव्यश्च त्रिभिर्वर्णैः समयेनाग्निसाक्षिकः (Ed. Venimādāva De. Calcutta, 1314 B.S., p. 579) ।

The Nirṇayasindhu too requires the marriage ceremony for the *Gāndhārva* and other forms :

गान्धर्वादिविवाहेष्वप्युदकपूर्वं दानमाह तत्रैव (i. e., in the Mādhabaviya) यमः । नोदकेन न वा वाचा कन्यायाः पतिरुच्यते । पाणिग्रहणसंस्कारात् पतित्वं सप्तमे पदे । पराशरमाधवीय देवलोऽपि । गान्धर्वादि विवाहेषु पुनर्वैवाहिकोविधिः । कर्तव्यश्च त्रिभिर्दणैः समर्थनाग्निसाक्षिकः । त्रिवर्णोक्ते-गान्धर्वादौ विप्रवर्जमधिकार उक्तः । तत्रैव परिशिष्टे । गान्धर्वासुरपैशाच विवाहा राक्षसश्च यः । पूर्वं परिश्रयस्तेषु पञ्चाद्वीमो विधीयते । अतो हीमादारकृते भार्यात्वाभावाद्द्वारान्तराय देया । तथा च तत्रैव वसिष्ठवैधायनौ । बलादपहृता कन्या मन्त्रैर्यदि न संस्कृता । अन्यस्मै विधिवद्देया यथा कन्या तथैव सेति । अत्र मन्त्रसंस्काराभावेऽन्यस्मै दानस्य सर्वविवाहेषु साम्याद्वलापहारे राक्षसपैशाच-योर्विशेषवचनं व्यर्थम् । तेन तयोर्यदि न संस्कृता संस्कृता वेत्याहुत्य कन्यानुमत्य-भावेऽन्यस्मै देयेति व्याख्येयम् (S. Venkatesvara Steam Press ed., Bombay, text : N. S. Press, Bombay, 1906, p. 227) ।

For Brāhmīns—B., D., Ā., Pr., Āś., G.	}	Manu, III. 23.
„ Kṣatriyas—Āś., G., R., Pai.		
„ Vaiśyas—Āś., G., Pai.		
„ Sūdras—Do.		
Best for Br.—B., D., Ā., Pr.	}	Do., III. 24.
„ „ K.—R.		
„ „ V.		
„ „ S.		
Permitted for all the castes—Pr, G., R. even for Brāhmīns ?	}	Do., III. 25.
Prohibited „ „ —Pai., Ās.		

Mixed forms :

पृथक् पृथग्वा मिश्रौ वा विवाहौ पूर्वचोदितौ ।

गान्धर्वो राक्षसश्चैव धर्म्यौ क्षत्रस्य तौ स्मृतौ ॥

Manu, III. 26.

Approved forms (अनिन्दित, Manu, III. 39, 40, 42) : B., D., Ā., Pr.

Disapproved forms (निन्दित, Do., III. 41, 42) : Āś., G., R., Pai.

Sulka :

न कन्यायाः पिता विद्वान् गृह्णीयाच्छुक्लमण्यपि ।

गृह्णंश्चुक्लं हि लोभेन स्यान्नरोऽपत्यविक्रयी ॥

Manu, III. 51.

आर्षे गोमिशुनं शुल्कं केचिदाहुर्मैव तत् ।
अल्पोऽप्येवं महान् वापि विक्रयस्तावदेव सः ॥

Manu, III. 53.

यासां नाददते शुल्कं ज्ञातयो न स विक्रयः ।
अर्हणं तत् कुमारीणामानृशंसं च केवलम् ॥

Do., III. 54.

("When money or goods are given to damsels, whose kinsmen receive them not for their own use, it is no sale ; it is merely a token of courtesy and affection to the brides."—Mayne).

काश्यपः । शुल्केन ये प्रयच्छन्ति स्वसुतां लोभमोहिताः । आत्मविक्रयिणः पापा महाक्लिषकारिणः । पतन्ति नरके घोरि घ्नन्ति चासप्तमं कुलम् । गमनागमने चैव सर्वः शुल्कोऽभिधीयते । गमनागमने पारितोषिकद्रव्यमादाय कन्याप्रदानार्थं कन्यापितृवैश्यातायाति । अत्र लोभमोहिता इत्यनेन स्वार्थं न ग्राह्यं कन्याकलार्थं तु ग्रहणे न दोषः । यासां नाददते शुल्कं ज्ञातयो न स विक्रयः । अर्हणं यत् कुमारीणामानृशंसं हि केवलम् । आनृशंस्यमनुकम्पा । अतएव मनुः । आददीत न शुद्रोऽपि शुल्कं दुहितरं ददत् ।

Raghun., उद्भा०, p. 584.

For an application of the above text of Manu, III. 54, यासां नाददते शुल्कं etc., see—

In the goods of Nathibhai, 2 Bom. 9.* [*Authikesavulu v. Ramanuja*: where a small sum is paid by custom not to the father but to the mother, it is not bride-price.]

The *Brāhma* form valid in law even in the case of *Sūdras*: the mere fact that the bride is given without the bestowal of any gift by the bridegroom constitutes the marriage one of that form.

Sivaram v. Bhagavan,
Mad. Dec. of 1859, 44.

The *Āsura* form is likewise valid :

Authikesavulu v. Ramanuja,
32 Mad. 512.

Even between *Brāhmīns* :

Visvanathan v. Saminathan,
13 Mad. 83. So in Bom-
bay too : 2 Borr. 198 (215,
222) ; 1 Borr. 18 (16, 20).

* See also, 32 Mad. 512 (517).

[Where, however, in connection with an *Āsura* marriage, the parents contracted for a maintenance to be paid to themselves in consideration of giving their daughter to an ineligible suitor, *held*, the agreement for maintenance was contrary to public policy and could not be enforced :

Baldeo Sahar v. Jumna Kunwar,
23 All. 495.

For the same reason, money agreed to be paid to the father in consideration of giving his daughter in marriage or paid in consideration of marriage performed cannot be recovered :

Kalavagunta v. Kalavagunta,
32 Mad. 185.]. See also—
13 „ 83.
17 „

A *Gāndharva* marriage held to be valid between Kṣatriyas by the Bengal Sudder Court in 1817, and assumed by that Court to be so, so late as 1850 and 1853 :

Hujmu Chul v. Ranee Bhadoorum,
Cit. S. D. of 1846, 340 ; same
case, 7 B. S. D. 355 = 3 Dig. 606.

See also—

Jogendra Deb v. Fanindra Deb,
14 M. I. A. 367 (375).

Invalid (the parties were Rajputs) :

Bhavni v. Maharaj Singh,
3 All. 738.

Valid, if celebrated with nuptial rites, of which the *homa* ceremony is an essential part :

Brindavana v. Radhamani,
12 Mad. 72.

Presumption *against* the assertion that a marriage is in a disapproved form, and the assertion must be proved by those who rely on it for any purpose :

Mad. Dec. of 1860, 201.
11 B. L. R. 286 (288) = 19 W. R. 264,
25 Cal. 354.
11 M. I. A. 139 (175).
34 Bom. 558.
33 „ 438.

The Marriage Ceremony according to the ritual prescribed by Gobhila, and elaborated and supplemented by Raghunandana in the *Saṃskāratattva* :

विवाहोत्सवश्च वृद्धिश्चाहम् । * * *

- (1) वृद्धिश्चाहम् । एवं च सर्वाण्येवान्वाहार्यवन्तीति गोभिलगृह्येण यच्छ्राद्धं कर्मणामादौ या चास्ते दक्षिणा भवेत् । अमावस्यां द्वितीयं यदन्वाहार्यं विदुर्बुधा इति गृह्यान्तरे नान्दीमुखश्चाहदक्षिणयोरन्वाहार्यत्व-प्रतिपादानाद् गृह्योक्त कर्मणामाद्यन्ताङ्गत्वेन नान्दीमुखश्चाहदक्षिणानियमाभिधानाद्विवाहमा-त्रस्य गृह्यकर्मत्वेन तदादौ वृद्धिश्चाहमवश्यं कर्तव्यम् । तत्राद्यविवाहे पित्रा तत् कर्तव्यम् ।

स्वपितृभ्यः पिता दद्यात् सुतसंस्कारकर्मसु । पिण्डानोद्धहनात्तेषां तस्या-भावेऽपि तत्क्रमादिति छन्दोगपरिशिष्टात् । सुतसंस्कारग्रहणात् पुत्रस्य विवाहा-न्तरे पित्रानाभ्युदयिकं कार्यम् । आद्येन संस्कारसिद्धौ द्वितीयादेस्तदजनकत्वात् । * * * पिण्डानिति आहपरं कन्यापुत्रविवाहोष्विति आहविधायकविष्णुपुरा-णैकवाक्यत्वात् । तदेकवाक्यतयैकशेषात् सुतपदं कन्यापुत्रपरम् । आ उद्धहना-दित्यभिविधावाङ् । तस्याभावेऽपि संस्कार्यक्रमबाधकस्य पितुरभावे पुनरन्यः संस्कार्यः सपिण्डादिर्वा । तत्क्रमादिति चित्रं कर्म यथानिकैरङ्गैरन्मील्यते शनैः । ब्राह्मण्यमपि तद्वत् स्यात् संस्कारैर्विधिपूर्वकैरित्यङ्गिरसोक्तफलभागितया तस्य प्रधानस्य क्रमात् तेषां पितॄणां दद्यात् । ततश्च संस्कार्यपित्रादित्यमातामहा-दित्येभ्यः श्राद्धं कुर्यात् । * * * ततश्च तेषामिति निर्विशेषितपितृमात्र-परामर्शकमिति ।

Raghun., उद्वा०, pp. 580-581.

The Viṣṇupurāṇa text referred to in the above extract is :

कन्यापुत्रविवाहेषु प्रवेशे नववेस्मनः ।

नामकर्मणि वालानां चूडाकर्मादिके तथा ॥

सौमन्तोन्नयने चैव पुत्रादिमुखदर्शने ।

नान्दीमुखं पितृगणं पूजयेत् प्रयतो गृही ॥

Cit. Raghun., संस्कार त०, Do., p. 381.

मातृश्राद्धं तु पूर्वं स्यात् पितॄणां तदनन्तरम् ।

ततो मातामहानां च वृद्धौ श्राद्धत्रयं स्मृतम् ॥

Sātatapa, cit. Do., उद्वा०, p. 582.

स्त्रीणां सपिण्डकं कुर्यात् स्वसूत्रोक्तविधानतः ।

अन्वष्टकासु वृद्धौ च गयायां च क्षयादिति ।

मातुः आङ्गं पृथक्कुर्यादन्यत्र पतिना सह ॥

Devāla, cit. Do., Do., p. 582.

वृद्धिआङ्गे च मातादि गयायां पितृपूर्वकम् ।

Vāyupurāṇa, cit. तीर्थचिन्तामणि cit. Raghun., उद्भा०, p. 582.

Exception to the above rule :

नान्दीमुखे तु छन्दोगैर्योषितां आङ्गं न कर्तव्यम् । न योषिद्भ्यः पृथग्दद्याद-
वसानदिनादृते । स्वभर्तृपिण्डमात्राभ्यस्तृप्तिरासां यतः स्मृतिति छन्दोगपरिशिष्टेन
पर्युदस्तत्वात् ।

Raghun., उद्भा०, p. 581,

Proxies permitted :

पितुर्देशान्तरस्थायित्व रोगादिनानधिकारित्वे च तत्प्रतिनिधित्वेन पुत्रादिना
वृद्धिआङ्गं कर्तव्यम् । * * * दक्षोऽपि । ऋत्विक् पुत्रो गुरुर्भाता
भागिनियोऽथ विट्पतिः । एभिरेव हुतं यत्तु तद्भुतं स्वयमेव हि । * *

Do., Do., p. 582.

But—

मरणादिणा पितुरनधिकारे द्वितीयादिविवाहे वा विवाहकारिणा स्वयमवश्यं
स्वपितृभ्यः आङ्गं कर्तव्यम् । नान्दीमुखेभ्यः आङ्गं तु पितृभ्यः कार्यमुच्यते । ततो
विवाहः कर्तव्यः शुद्धः शुभसुतप्रद इति ब्रह्मपुराणे आङ्गेन विवाहस्य शुद्धत्वाभिधानेन
तदभावादशुद्धत्वप्रतीतिः । अङ्गत्वादेव जीवत्पितृकेशापि जीवन्तं विहायापर-
मादायावश्यं वृद्धिआङ्गं कार्यम् ।

Do., Do., p. 582.

[“स्वयम्”—But couldn't a proxy be appointed even in such a case?—

श्रीतं कर्म स्वयं कुर्यादन्योऽपि स्मार्तमचरेत् ।

अशक्तौ श्रीतमप्यन्यः कुर्यादाचारमन्ततः ॥

Sātātapa, cit. पराशरमाध cit. Raghun., एकादशौ त० and
मठप्र० त० Do., p. 586; Do., p. 668.

काम्ये प्रतिनिधिर्नास्ति नित्यनैमित्तिके हि सः ।

काम्येषूपक्रमदूर्ध्वमन्ये प्रतिनिधिं विदुः ॥

Kālamādhaviya, cit. Raghun., Do. and Do., p. 565,
p. 668]

Vṛddhi-Śrāddha essential even where the girl is given away by her grandfather, etc. :

एवं चाङ्गत्वात् पितामहादिक्रियमाणे कन्यादाने वृद्धिश्चाङ्गमुपपद्यते ।

Raghun., उद्वा०, p. 583.

No *vṛddhi-śrāddha*, where the girl is given away by her mother :

मात्रा तु जीवत्पित्रादित्रिकवृद्धिश्चाङ्गं विना कन्या दीयते तदनधिकारात् ।
तथाहि पार्वणाधिकारे विष्णुः । पितरि पितामहे प्रपितामहे च जीवति नैव
कुर्यादिति । तद्विकृतित्वाहृद्विश्चाङ्गेऽप्यनधिकारः । एवं मृताहनि तु कर्तव्या
स्त्रीणामप्युत्तरक्रिया । प्रतिसंवत्सरं राजन्नेकोद्दिष्टविधानत इति विष्णुपुराणीये
सपिण्डनोत्तरक्रियायामेकोद्दिष्टविधानेनान्यत्रानधिकारः । अत्र स्त्रीणामिति
प्रकरणात् कर्त्तरि षष्ठी ।

Raghun., उद्वा०, p. 583.

(2) चौरम् । For the bridegroom.

(3) उदत्तनस्नानम् । Do.

(4) गन्धपुष्पादिवरणम् । Do.

(5) मुखचन्द्रिका ।

वरकन्ययोः पुष्पमाल्याद्युत्सवेन सांमुख्याचरणरूपमुखचन्द्रिकामाह हरि-
वंशे । * * तामाह हारावली । जम्बूलमालिका कन्यावरयामुखचन्द्रिका ।

Raghun., संस्कार त०, Do., p. 382.

(6) अर्हणम् ।

उत्तरतो गां बध्वाऽवतिष्ठतेऽर्हणा पुत्रवाससेति ।

Gobhila, cit. Raghun., Do., Do., p. 382.

इदमहमिमां पद्यां विराजमन्नाद्यायाधितिष्ठामीति

प्रतिष्ठमानो जपेद्यत्रैवमर्हयन्तः स्युः ।

Do., Do., Do., p. 382.

विष्टरपाद्याध्याचमनीयमधुपर्कनिकैकशस्त्रिनिर्वेदयेरन् ।

Do., Do., Do., p. 382.

आचान्तोदकाय गौरिति नापितस्त्रिर्नूयात् ।

Do., Do., Do., p. 383.

एवं नापितेनोक्ते तं श्रावयति वरो मुञ्च गामित्यादि ।

Raghun., संस्कार त०, Do., p. 383.

(7) कन्यादानम् ।

प्राङ्ग ख्यायामिरूपाय वराय शुचिसन्निधौ ।

दद्यात् प्रत्यङ्गं खः कन्यां क्षणे लक्षणसंयुते ॥

Cit. Raghun., Do., Do., p. 383.

समापयेत् ततः पश्चात् कामस्तुत्या प्रतिग्रहम् ।

विष्णुधर्मोत्तर, cit. Do., Do., Do., p. 385.

For कामस्तुति, See Vs. 7, 48.

अथ कन्यादानाधिकारिणः । विष्णुः । पिता पितामहो भ्राता सकुल्यो मातामहो माता चेति कन्याप्रदाः पूर्वाभावे प्रकृतिस्थः पर इति । प्रकृतिस्थः पातिल्योन्मादादिरहितः । अप्रकृतिस्थेन पित्रादिना कृतमप्यकृतमेव । तदाह नारदः । स्वतन्त्रोऽपि हि यत् कार्यं कुर्यादप्रकृतिं गतः । तदप्यकृतमेव स्यादस्वातन्त्र्यस्य हेतुतः । पितृत्वादिना स्वतन्त्रोऽपि सन् अप्रकृतिस्थत्वेन हेतुना परतन्त्रो भवति । तदा तत् कृतं वाग्दानादिकमकृतमेव । यदि तु विवाहो निर्वृत्तस्तदा प्रधानस्य निष्पत्त्येनाधिकारि वैकल्यान् तस्य पुनरावृत्तिरिति । मातुः पूर्वं मातुलो बोध्यः । यथा नारदः । पिता दद्यात् स्वयं कन्यां भ्राता वानुमतः पितुः । मातामहो मातुलश्च सकुल्यो बान्धवस्तथा । माता त्वभावे सर्वेषां प्रकृतौ यदि वर्तते । तस्यामप्रकृतिस्थायां कन्यां दद्युः स्वजातय इत्यर्धमधिकं पराशरभाष्ये माधवाचार्येण धृतम् । बान्धवः पितामहः । विष्णुवचनैकवाक्यत्वात् एवमेव रत्नाकरः । एवं च सकुल्यपितामहयोर्नारदोक्त क्रमो न ग्राह्यः । किन्तु विष्णुवचनमात्रेण याज्ञवल्क्योक्तक्रमोग्राह्यः । पाठक्रमाच्छाब्दक्रमस्य बलवत्त्वात् । तस्यामित्यनेन मातुरुपस्थितत्वात् स्वजातय इत्यनेन मातामहमातुलेतरमाहपक्ष-सकुल्यो उच्यन्ते । संस्कृतानामधिकारमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः । असंस्कृतास्तु संस्कार्या भ्रातृभिः पूर्वसंस्कृतैः । भगिन्यश्च निजादंशाद् दत्त्वांशं तु तुरीयकम् । असंस्कृता भ्रातरो भगिन्यश्च पूर्वसंस्कृतैरुपनीतैः । अन्यथा मन्त्रपाठानधिकारापत्तेः । तुरीयकं विवाहोचितद्रव्यमिति दायतत्वे विवेचितम् । अत्र विवाहोचितद्रव्यदाने संस्कृतासंस्कृतभेदानुपयोगात् पूर्वसंस्कृतैरिति कन्यासंस्कारणवोपयुक्तम् । तथा । पिता पितामहो भ्राता सकुल्यो जननी तथा कन्याप्रदः पूर्वनाशे प्रकृतिस्थः परः परः । * * * तथेत्यनेन नारदोक्त मातामहाद्याः समुच्चिताः ।

Raghun., उद्भा०, pp. 578-579.

So in the संस्कारतत्त्व too. There, however, Raghunandana reads सनाभयः for स्वजातयः in the text of Nārada.

The order of the persons competent to give away a girl in marriage in the Bengal School is, therefore, this :

- (1) Father
- (2) Paternal grandfather
- (3) Brother
- (4) Sakulya

- (5) Maternal grandfather
- (6) Maternal uncle
- (7) Mother
- (8) Other maternal relations (“मातामहमातुलेतरमाहपक्षसकुल्याः”)

In the Mitākṣarā School :

पिता पितामहो भ्राता सकुल्यो जननी तथा ।
 कन्याप्रदः पूर्वनाशे प्रकृतिस्थः परः परः ।
 अप्रयच्छन् समाप्नोति भ्रूणहत्यामृतामृतौ ।
 गम्यं लभावे दातृणां कन्या कुर्यात् स्वयं वरम् ॥

Yāj., I. 3. 63-64.

एतेषां पित्रादीनां पूर्वपूर्वाभावे परः परः कन्याप्रदः प्रकृतिस्थश्चेद् यद्युन्मादि-
 दोषवान्न भवति । अतो यस्याधिकारः सोऽप्रयच्छन् भ्रूणहत्यामृतामृता वाप्नोति ।
 एतच्च उक्तलक्षणवरसम्भवे वेदितव्यम् । यदा पुनर्दातृणामभावस् तदा कन्यैव
 गम्यं गमनार्हमुक्तलक्षणं वरं स्वयमेव वरयेत् ।

Mit. ad ditto.

याज्ञवल्क्यः । पिता पितामहः.....स्वयं वरम् । भ्रातृणां संस्कृतानामेवा-
 धिकारमाह स एव । असंस्कृतास्तु संस्कार्या...तुरीयकम् । * * * तेना-
 तुपनीतभ्रातृमातादिसत्त्वे मातादेरेवाधिकारो न भ्रातुरित्युक्तं सम्बन्धतत्त्वाद् ।
 कन्यास्वयंवरं मातुर्दातृत्वे च ताभ्यामेव नान्दीश्राद्धं कार्यम् । तत्र च स्वयं प्रधान-
 संकल्पमात्रं कृत्वाऽन्यब्राह्मणद्वारा (अन्यद् ब्राह्मणद्वारा ?) कारयोदिति प्रयोग-
 पारिजाते । वरस्तु संस्कृतभ्रातृमाद्यभावे स्वयमेव नान्दीश्राद्धं कुर्यान्न माता ।
 पुत्रेषु विद्यमानेषु नान्यं वै कारयेत् स्वधामिति निषेधात् । उपनयनेन कर्मा-
 धिकारस्य जातत्वाच्चेति पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदये । माधवीयेऽपराकं च नारदः । पिता
 दद्यात्...स्वजातयः । सकुल्यः पितृपक्षीयो बान्धवो मातृवंशजः । मदनपारिजाते
 कात्यायनः । स्वयमेवौरसीं दद्यात् पितृभावे स्वबान्धवः । मातामहस्ततोऽन्यां
 हि माता वा धर्मजां सुताम् । ततोऽन्यामौरसीभिर्ना धर्मजां नियोगात् क्षेपजां
 मातामहो माता मातुलो वा दद्यात् । तेनौरसीदानीं पितृबन्धुषु सत्सु माता-
 महादीनां नाधिकारोऽनुमतिं विना । अस्यापवादस्तत्रैव । दीर्घप्रवासयुक्तेषु
 पौगण्डेषु च बन्धुषु । माता तु समये दद्यादौरसीमपि कन्यकाम् । मनुः ।
 यदा तु नैव कश्चित् स्यात् कन्या राजानमाव्रजेत् । * * अत्र प्रकृतिग्रहणाद-
 प्रकृतिस्थेन कृतमकृतमेव । स्वतन्त्रो यदि तत् कार्यम्.....हेतुत इत्यपराकं

नारदोक्तेः । यदि तु सप्तपदी विवाहोमादिप्रधानं जातं तदङ्गवैकल्योऽपि नावृत्ति-
र्विवाहस्य । गौडा अथेवमाहुः ।

Nirṇayasindhu, तृतीय प० विवाह प्र० (Ed. S.V.S. Press, Bombay,
text; N.S. Press, Bombay, 1901, pp. 229-230).

Acc. to the Mit., therefore, the order is as follows :—

- (1) Father
- (2) Pat. grandfather
- (3) Brother
- (4) *Sakulya*
- (5) Mother.

The Nirṇayasindhu, however, supplements the text of Yāj., on which the above order is based, by the text of Nārada. The result seems to be the same as in the Bengal School.

Case-law on the subject :

Where a father had abandoned his wife and daughter, the mother would be competent to give away her daughter :

Bacc Rulyat v. Jeychund, Bellasis, 43 = 1 Mor. (N. S.) 181.

Khushalchund v. Bai Mani, 11 Bom. 247.

Ghazi v. Sukru, 19 All. 515.

Under no other circumstances would a marriage contract be binding without the father's consent :

Nundlal v. Tapudas, 1 Borr. 14 [16].

Nanabhai v. Janardan, 12 Bom. 110.

A mat. grandfather has a right of disposal superior to that of the step-mother :

Ram Bunsee v. Soobh Kaonwaru,

7 W. R. 321 = 2 Ind. Jur. 193.

In one case, the Madras High Court refused to allow a divided uncle to dispose of his niece in marriage without consulting her mother. As there the mother was at once the guardian of the girl and the legal possessor of the estate out of which the marriage expenses must be defrayed, the High Court considered that she was entitled to be consulted on the one hand and the male relations on the other, but that the Court would prob. interfere to compel the marriage of the girl to a suitable husband, if chosen by either party and rejected without reasonable cause by the other :

Namasevayam v. Annamal,

4 Mad. H. C. R. 339.

Mt. Rulyat v. Madkowjee, 2 Borr. 680 [739]

The Mad. High Court has gone further. Where the mother is the proper personal guardian of her minor daughter, she was entitled to select a bridegroom for her and give her in marriage, even though the father of the deceased husband and other male relatives had not improperly or wrongly refused to perform the marriage, and to recover reasonable expenses of the marriage from the joint family property :

Rauganaiki v. Ramanuja, 35 Mad. 728.

See also—

Bai Ramkore v. Jaminadas, 37 Bom. 18.

Where the guardian is about to effect a marriage which is obviously injurious to the girl, the Court has power to interfere, esp. where his conduct is actuated by improper or interested motives. Such power of interference would very rarely and only in extreme cases be exercised where the guardian is the father :

Shridhar v. Hiralal, 12 Bom. 480.

So long as the marriage rests in contract, an attempt to give on a girl in marr. by a person not authorised would be overruled by the Court upon a proper appln. by the person in whom the right was reposed :

11 Bom. 253 (*Per curiam*).

Where, however, the marr. has actually been celebrated, a very diff. question arises. When the mother of the girl, acting as her natural guardian, in view to her welfare, and without force or fraud, gives away the girl in marr. without her (the mother's) husband's permission, and the marr. rite is duly solemnised, the marr. becomes irrevocable. Three propositions laid down :

Venkatacharyulu v. Rangacharyulu, 14 Mad. 316.

“Two propositions of law may be taken to be established beyond controversy, *viz.*, (1) Where there is a gift by a legal guardian, and the marriage rite is duly solemnised, the marr. is irrevocable, and (2) where the girl is abducted by fraud or force and married, and there is no gift either by a natural or legal guardian there is a fraud upon the policy of the religious ceremony, and there is therefore no valid religious ceremony.¹ The third proposition of law, which is material to the case before us, is that when the mother of the girl, acting as her natural guardian, in view to her welfare, and without force or fraud, gives away the girl in marriage, and the marr. rite is duly solemnised, the marriage is not to be set aside. This view is

¹ See *per Norman, J., Aunjona Dasi v. Prahlad Chandra*, 6 B.L.R. (p. 254),

supported by authority (citing *Bellasis* 43 ; *Modhoosoodun v. Jadab Chunder*, 3 W. R. 194 ; *Brindabun v. Chandra Kurmoker*, 12 Cal. 140 ; 11 Bom. 247 ; 19 All. 515 ; *Bai Diwali v. Moti Karson*, 22 Bom. 509 ; *Mulchand Kuber v. Bhudea*, *ibid.* 812), and is sound in principle." "A marr. actually and properly celebrated will be legal and binding, although it has taken place in violation of a previous agreement to marry another person (*Khooshal v. Bhugwan Motee*, 1 Borr. 138 [155]) ; or although it has been performed without the consent of the person whose consent ought to have been obtained (*Bace Rulyat v. Jeychund*, *Bellasis*, 43=1 Mor. N. S. 181). For this is one of the cases in which necessity compels the application of the maxim, *Factum valet quod fieri non debuit*." Mayne, 8th. Ed., 96, p. 119.

(8) अग्निस्थापनम् ।

पाणिग्रहणे पुरस्ताच्छालाया उपलिप्तेऽग्निरूपसमाहितो भवति ।

Gobhila, II. 1. 12, cit. संस्कार त०, Do., p. 385.

(9) कन्यास्नानम् ।

अथ यस्याः पाणिं ग्रहीष्यन् भवति सशिरस्काऽऽप्नुता भवति ।

Do., II. 1. 17, cit. Do., Do., p. 386.

(10) कन्यावासः परिधापनम् ।

आहूतेन वसनेन पतिः परिदध्याद्या अकृन्तन्नित्येतयर्चा परिधत्त धत्त वाससेति च ।

Do., II. 1. 18, cit. Do., Do., p. 386.

(11) कन्यानुमन्त्रणम् ।

प्रावृतां यज्ञोपवीतिणीमभ्युदानयन् जपेत् सोमोऽददद् गन्धर्वयिति ।
पश्चादग्नेः संविष्टितं कटमेवंजातीयं वाऽन्यत् पदा प्रवर्तयन्तीं
वाचयेत् प्र मे पतियानः पत्याः कल्पतामिति । स्वयं जपेदजपन्यां
प्रास्या इति । वह्निषोऽन्तं कटान्तं प्रापयेत् ।

Do., II. 1. 19-22, cit. Do., Do., p. 386.

(12) आज्यहोमः ।

पूर्वं कटान्ते दक्षिणतः पाणिग्राहस्योपविशति दक्षिणेन पाणिना
दक्षिणमंसमन्वारध्यायाः षड्राज्याहुतीर्जुहोत्यग्निरे तु प्रथम इत्येतत्
प्रभृतिभिः ।

Do., II. 1. 23, 24 ; cit. Do., Do., p. 386.

(13) महाव्याहृतिहोमः ।

महाव्याहृतिभिश्च पृथक् । समस्ताभिश्चतुर्थीम् ।

Do., II. 1. 25, 26 ; cit. Do., Do., p. 386.

(14) अश्मारोहणम् ।

हुत्वोपोत्तिष्ठतः । अनुपृष्ठं पतिः परिक्रम्य दक्षिणत उदङ्मुखोऽ-
वतिष्ठते वध्वञ्जलिं गृहीत्वा । पूर्वा माता लाजानादाय भ्राता
वा वधूमाक्रामयेदश्मानं दक्षिणेन प्रपदेन । पाणिग्रहो जपती-
ममश्मानमारोहेति ।

Do., II. 2. 1-4, cit. Do., Do., pp. 386-387.

(15) लाजावपनम् ।

सकृत्संगृहीतं लाजानामञ्जलिं भ्राता वध्वञ्जला वा वपति ।

Gobhila, II. 2. 5, cit. संस्कार तः, Dc., p. 387.

(16) लाजहोमः ।

तं सोदस्तीर्णाभिघारितमग्नी जुहोत्यविच्छिन्दत्यञ्जलिमियं नार्य-
पव्रूतेऽर्यमणं नु देवं पूषणमित्युत्तरयोः ।

Do., II. 2. 6, 7 ; cit. Do., Do., p. 387.

(17) परिणयः ।

पतिर्यथेतं परिव्रज्य प्रदक्षिणमग्निं परिणयति मन्त्रवान् ब्राह्मणः
कन्यला पितृभ्य इति । परिणीता तथैवावतिष्ठते तथाक्रामति
तथा जपति तथा वपति तथा जुहोति । एवं त्रिः ।

Do., II. 2. 8-10 ; cit. Do., Do., p. 387.

*(18) सप्तपदीगमनम् ।

शूर्पेण शेषमग्नावोप्य प्रागुदीचीमभ्युत्क्रामन्त्येकमिष इति ।
दक्षिणेन प्रक्रम्य सव्येनानुक्रामेत् । मा सव्येन दक्षिणमति-
क्रामेति ब्रूयात् ।

Do., II. 2. 11-13 ; cit. Do., Do., p. 387.

(19) द्वेक्षकाभिमन्त्रणम् ।

द्वेक्षकान् प्रतिमन्त्रयेत् सुमङ्गलीरियं वधूरिति ।

Do., II. 2. 14, cit. Do., Do., p. 387.

* In the Schools of the Yajurveda, the *saptapadi* comes after the *pāṇigrahaṇa*.
Vide Pāraskara, Mānava-Gr.-Sū., and Āpastamba-Gr.-Sūtra.

(20) वधवरयोर्मूर्धाभिषेकः ।

अपरेणाग्निमौदकोऽनुसंज्य पाणिग्राहं मूर्धदेशेऽवसिञ्चति तथेतरां
समञ्जन्वित्वेतयर्चा ।

Do., II. 2. 15, cit. Do., Do., p. 387.

*(21) पाणिग्रहणम् ।

अवसिक्तायाः सव्येन पाणिनाञ्जलिमुपोद्गृह्य दक्षिणेन पाणिना
दक्षिणं पाणिं साङ्गुष्ठमुत्तानं गृहीत्वेताः षट् पाणिग्रहणीया जपति
गृभ्नामित इति ।

Do., II. 2. 16, cit. Do., Do., p. 388.

(22) उद्वाहः ।

समाप्तासूहन्ति ।

Gobh., II. 2. 17, cit. संज्ञा०, Do., p. 388.

यद्यशक्तेः कुलाचाराद्वा तद्दिन एव हृतिहोमादि चतुर्थी होमान्तं
कर्म क्रियते तदाभिमन्वितं कदलादिकं स्ययमाग्राय वधूमाग्रापयेत्
ततो वामदेव्यगानान्तं कुर्यात् ।

Raghun., संज्ञा०, Do., p. 389.

(23) उत्तरविवाहः ।

(a) अग्निस्थापनम् ।

प्रागुदीच्यां दिशि ब्राह्मणकुलमभिरूपं तत्राग्निरूप समाहितो
भवति ।

Do., II. 3. 1, cit. संज्ञा०, Do., p. 388.

Now obsolete : इदानीं तु तथाविधानाचरणाद् वेद्यामेव पूर्व-
स्थापिताग्नेः पश्चात् कर्म कर्तव्यं न त्वन्यन्तरस्थापनम् ।

Raghun., संज्ञा०, Do., p. 388.

(b) अनभुञ्चमीपवेशनम् ।

अपरेणाग्निमानडुहं लोहितं चर्म प्रागग्नीवमुत्तरलोमास्तीर्णं
भवति । तस्मिन्नेनां वाग्यतामुपवेशयन्ति । सा खल्वास्त एवमा
नञ्चन्द्रदर्शनात् ।

Gobh., II. 3. 2-4; cit. Do., Do., p. 388.

Now obsolete : इदानीं तु...कलियुगस्वभावेन सम्यग्धर्माचरण-
रहितेनापि चर्मोपवेशनाद्यङ्गाभावेऽपि कर्मणः प्राधान्यादाज्य-
होमादिकं क्रियते ।

Raghun., संज्ञा०, Do., p. 388.

(c) आज्यहोमः ।

प्रोक्ते नक्षत्रे षड्राज्याहुतौर्जहोति लेखा सन्धिष्वित्येतत् प्रभृतिभिः ।
आहुतेराहुतेस्तु संपातं मूर्ध्नि वध्वा अवर्णयेत् ।

Gobh., II. 3. 5, 6; cit. Do., Do., p. 388.

(d) ध्रुवदर्शनम् ।

ह्रस्वोपोत्यायोपनिष्क्रम्य ध्रुवं दर्शयति । ध्रुवमसि ध्रुवाहं पतिकुले
भूयासममुथासाविति पतिनाम गृह्णीयादात्मनश्च ।

Do., II. 3. 7. 8; cit. Do., Do., p. 388.

(e) अरुन्धतीदर्शनम् ।

अरुन्धतीं च । रुद्राहमस्मीत्येवमेव ।

Do., II. 3. 9, 10; cit. Do., Do., p. 388.

(f) वध्वनुमन्त्रणम् ।

अथैनामनुमन्त्रयते ध्रुवा दीरित्येतयर्चा ।

Do., II. 3. 11; cit. Do., Do., p. 388.

(g) पत्यभिवादनम् ।

अनुमन्त्रिता गुरुं गोत्रेणाभिवादयते । सोऽस्या वाग्विस्तरः ।

Gobh., II. 3. 12, 13; cit. संज्ञा, Do., p. 388.

एतत्पत्यभिवादनान्त एव सामगानां विवाहः । * * *

यजुर्वेदिनां तु प्रेक्षकाभिमन्त्रणानुद्धर्मोपवेशनान्तो विवाहः * * ।

Raghun., उद्वाह त०, p. 580.

(h) दम्पत्योर्ब्रह्मचर्यम् ।

तावुभौ ततः प्रभृति त्रिरात्रमक्षारलवणाग्निनौ ब्रह्मचारिणौ भूमौ
सह शयीयाताम् ।

Gobh., II. 3. 14; cit. संज्ञा, Do., p. 389.

(i) अर्घ्याहरणम् ।

अथार्घ्यामित्याहुरागतोष्वित्येके ।

Do., II. 3. 15, 16.

(j) दम्पत्योर्भोजनम् ।

हविष्यमन्नं प्रथमं परिजपितं भुञ्जीत । भुक्तोच्छिष्टं वध्वै प्रदाय
यथार्थम् ।

Do., II. 3. 17, 21; cit. Do., Do., p. 389.

(k) समशनीयचरुहोमः ।

श्वोभूते वा समशनीयं स्थालीपाकं कुर्वीत । तस्य देवता अग्निः
प्रजापतिर्विश्वेदेवा अनुमतिरिति । उद्धृत्य स्थालीपाकं व्यह्नौकदेशं

पाणिनाऽभिसृष्टेदन्नपाशेन मण्डितेति । भुक्तोच्छिष्टं वध्वै प्रदाय
यथार्थम् ।

Do., II. 3. 18-21; cit. Do., Do., p. 389

Now absolute : किन्विदानीं समशनीय चरुहोमाकरणात् &c.

Ragh., Do., Do., p. 389.

(1) दक्षिणादानम् ।

गौर्दक्षिणा ।

Do., II. 3. 22, cit. Do., Do., p. 389.

(24) यानारोहणम् ।

यानमारोऽन्त्यां सुकिंशुकं शल्लालिमित्येतामृचं जपेत् ।

Do., cit. Do., Do., p. 389.

(25) चतुष्पथादिप्रतिमन्त्रणम् ।

अध्वनि चतुष्पथान् प्रतिमन्त्रयते नदींश्च विषमाणि च महावृक्षान्
श्मशानं च मा विदन् परिपन्थिन इति ।

Do., cit. Do., Do., p. 390.

(26) अक्षभङ्गादिनिमित्तकहोमः ।

Now absolute : अक्षभङ्गादिनिमित्तहोमस्येदानीं तथाचारा-
भावात् &c.

Raghun., संज्ञा, Do., p. 390.

(27) पुनर्यानारोहणम् ।

(28) गृहप्रवेशः ।

प्राप्तेषु वामदेव्यं वरः

(29) वध्वा अनडुच्चर्मोपवेशनम् ।

गृहं गतां पतिपुत्रशीलसंपन्ना ब्राह्मण्यो वरोऽप्यानडुहं चर्मखुप-
वेशयन्तीह गावः प्रजायध्वमिति । तस्याः कुमारमुपस्थ आदध्यः ।
ब्राह्मण्यस्तमैः शकलोटानञ्जला वा वपेयुः फलानि वा ।

(30) घृतिहोमः ।

उत्थाप्य कुमारं ध्रुवा आज्याहुतीर्जहोति । अष्टाविह घृति ध्रुवा
आवश्यकः । कथञ्चिद् गृहगमनाभावेऽपि श्वशुरगृहनिवासेऽपि
अवश्यं होतव्या इति । अत्र इह घृतिः स्वाहेत्यादिप्रयोगः ।
न तु स्वाहायोगी चतुर्थी ।

Raghun., संज्ञा, Do., p. 390.

(31) दम्पत्योर्गुर्वभिवादनम् ।

समाप्तासु समिधमाधाय यथावयसं गुरुन् गोत्रिणाभिवाद्य
यथार्थम् ।

Gobh., II. 4. 11.

यदि त्वशक्तेः कुलाचाराद्वा तद्दिन एव चतुर्थी होमः क्रियते
तदा तत्समाप्ताविवोदीच्यं कर्म तन्त्रेण कर्तव्यम् ।

Raghun., संस्कार, Do., p. 390.

(32) चतुर्थीकर्म (प्रायश्चित्तहोमः) ।

अथातश्चतुर्थीकर्म । अग्निमुपसमाधाय प्रायश्चित्ताज्याहुतीर्ज-
होत्यग्ने प्रायश्चित्त इति चतुश्चतुः । समस्य पञ्चमीं बहुवदूह्य
तथैव ।

Gobh., II. 5. 1. 2.

विवाहतिथ्यनन्तरं चतुर्थ्यां तिथौ वक्षमाणं कर्म वर्तिष्यत इति
वाक्यार्थः । अग्निमुपसमाधाय विवाहाग्निमिन्धनेन
संधुच्य * *

Raghun., संस्कार, Do., p. 390.

(33) वधूस्नानम् ।

आहुतेराहुतेस्तु संपातमुदपात्रेऽवनयेत् । तेनैनां सकेशनखा-
मभ्यज्य क्रामयित्वा प्लावयन्ति ।

Gobh., II. 5. 2.

जलपात्रे क्षिपेदित्यर्थः । ...तेनाज्यमिन्धजलेनैनां वधूं चक्षयित्वा ।
सकेशनखामिति सर्वहोमाद्यङ्गार्थम् । क्रामयित्वाऽग्निस्थाना-
द्देशान्तरं गमयित्वा प्लावयन्ति स्नापयन्ति । बहुवचनादनियतः
कर्ता ।

Raghun., संस्कार, Do., p. 390.

(34) दारोपगमनम् ।

ऊर्ध्वं त्रिरात्रात् सश्व इत्येके । यदर्थमती भवत्युपरतशीणिता
तदा सश्वकालः ।

Gobh., II. 5. 7. 8.

Prominence given to the *Saptapadi* in the following texts :

(1) पाणिग्रहणिका मन्त्रा नियतं दारलक्षणम् ।

तेषां निष्ठा तु विज्ञेया विद्वद्भिः सप्तमे पदे ॥

Manu, VIII. 227, cit. उद्धार, p. 580.

पाणिग्रहणिका इति । वैवाहिका मन्त्रा नियतं निश्चितं भार्यात्वे निमित्तम् । मन्त्रैर्यथाशास्त्रप्रयुक्तैर्भार्यात्वनिष्पत्तेः । तेषां तु मन्त्राणां सखा सप्तपदी भवेति मन्त्रेण कन्यायाः सप्तमे दत्ते पदे भार्यात्वनिष्पत्तेः शास्त्रज्ञैर्निष्पत्तिर्विज्ञेया । एवं च सप्तपदीदानात् प्राग् भार्यात्वनिष्पत्तेः सत्यनुशये जह्यान्नोर्ध्वम् ।

Kullūka on Do.

निष्ठा भार्यात्वस्य समाप्तिरूपा । सप्तमे पदे गतायां कन्यायामिति बोध्यम् ।

Raghun., उद्भा०, p. 580.

(2) नोदकेन न वाचा वा कन्यायाः पतिरिष्यते ।

पाणिग्रहणसंस्कारात् पतित्वं सप्तमे पदे ॥

Yama, cit. उद्भा०, p. 579.

(3) स्वगोत्राद् भ्रश्यते नारी विवाहात् सप्तमे पदे ।

पतिगोत्रेण कर्तव्या तस्याः पिण्डोदकक्रिया ॥

Laghuhārīta, cit. उद्भा०, p. 580.

(4) तत्रापि पाणिग्रहणे न जायात्वं कृत्स्नं हि जायापतित्वं सप्तमे पदे ।

Laghuhārīta, cit. रत्नाकर cit. उद्भा०, p. 570.

[Is it the commentary of the author of *Ratnākara* himself on the foregoing text(3)?]

Effect of Omission of or Irregularity in any of the ceremonies detailed above.

Such omission or irregularity should not render the marriage invalid :

(1) Marriage is a *Samskāra* :

गर्भाधानपुंसवनसौमन्तीन्नयनजातकर्मनामकरणान्नप्राशनचौलीपनयनम् । चत्वारि वेदव्रतानि । स्नानं सहधर्मचारिणी संयोगः पञ्चानां यज्ञानामनुष्ठानं देवपितृमनुष्यभूतब्राह्मणाम् । एतेषां च । अष्टका पार्वणः आर्द्रं आबर्ण्या-ग्रहायणी चैत्राश्वयुजीति सप्त पाकयज्ञसंस्थाः । अग्न्याधेयमग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्ण-मासा वा ग्रयणं चातुर्मास्यानि निरुद्धपशुबन्धः सौत्रामणीति सप्त हविर्यज्ञसंस्थाः । अग्निष्टोमोऽत्यग्निष्टोम उक्त्यः षोडशी वाजपेयोऽतिरात्र आतोर्याम इति सप्त सोमसंस्थाः । इत्येते चत्वारिंशत् संस्काराः ।

Gautama, Dharmasūtra VIII. 14. 2

वैवाहिको विधिः स्त्रीणां संस्कारो वैदिकः स्मृतः ।

पतिसेवा गुरौ वासो गृहार्थोऽग्निपरिक्रिया ॥

Manu, II. 67.

पाणिग्रहणसंस्कारः सवर्णासूपदिश्यते ।

Do., III. 48.

अक्षता च क्षता चैव पुनर्भूः संस्कृता पुनः ।

Yāj., I. 3. 67.

कन्यैवाक्षतयोनिर्या पाणिग्रहणदूषिता ।

पुनर्भूः प्रथमा नाम पुनः संस्कारकर्मणा ॥

Nārada, cit. Mit. व्यव० ऋणा० (Ed. by Chowkhāmbā Sanskrit Series, No. 62, Yājñavalkya Smṛti, p. 475).

पाणिग्रहणसंस्कारात् पतित्वं सप्तमे पदे ।

Yama, cit. above.

विवाहमात्रस्य गृहकर्मत्वेन तदादौ वृद्धिश्चाहमवश्यं कर्तव्यम् ।
तत्राद्यविवाहे पित्रा तत् कर्तव्यम् । स्वपितृभ्यः पिता दद्यात्
सुतसंस्कारकर्मसु । पिण्डानोदहनात्तेषां तस्याभावेऽपि तत्क्रमा-
दिति कान्दोगपरिशिष्टात् । सुतसंस्कारग्रहणात् पुत्रस्य विवाहा-
न्तरे पित्रा आभ्युदयिकं कार्यम् । आद्येन संस्कारसिद्धौ द्वितीयादे-
स्तदजनकत्वाद् ।

Raghun., उद्वा० p. 121, *et passim*.

(2) And therefore a *nitya* ceremony :

संस्काराणां नित्यत्वात् * *

Raghun., संस्का०, Do., p. 370.

(3) A *nitya* ceremony is efficacious, even if some of its details are omitted :

Jaimini, VI. 3. 1-7.

अप्येकदेशेऽङ्गानां स्यादेव प्रयोगः । यतः साङ्गस्याप्यनङ्गस्यापि
प्रयुज्यमानस्य प्रधानादेवायमर्थो निष्पद्यते । गुणमात्रं सर्वाङ्ग-
प्रयोगेण भवति । को गुणः । साङ्गात् स्वर्गाभिनिर्वृत्तिः प्रधान-
मात्रादिदमन्यत् फलम् । तस्मात् स्वर्गप्राप्त्यर्थं संपूर्णाङ्गं करिष्या-
मीत्यारब्धम् । यदि कानिचिदङ्गानि न शक्नोति कर्तुं तथाप्य-
स्मादेकदेशाङ्गगुणयुक्तात् प्रधानात् फलं भविष्यति । तस्मात्
प्रधानमात्रस्य प्रयोगमाह नाङ्गानाम् । दर्शपूर्णमासशब्दकोऽग्नि-
होतृशब्दकश्च प्रधानपदार्थोऽन्यान्यङ्गानि तदर्थाणीति ।

Sabarasvāmin on Do. (सर्दशज्ञाधिकरणम्)

Not so, however, where the ceremony is a *Kāmya* one :

Jaim., VI. 3. 8-10.

[But see Raghunandana, *Prāyaścittatattva* :

वस्तुस्तु काम्ये नित्ये वा वैदिकमात्रे यथा कथञ्चित् प्रधाननिष्पत्तौ नाङ्गानुष्ठानार्थं प्रधानावृत्तिः । तथा च कन्दोगपरिशिष्टम् ।

प्रधानस्याक्रिया यत्र साङ्गं तत् क्रियते पुनः ।

तदङ्गस्याक्रियायां तु नावृत्तिर्न च तत्क्रिया ॥

* * अथाङ्गहीने काम्येऽपि फलम् । ननु काम्यङ्गाभावे फलसिद्धौ साङ्गाद्धि वैदिककर्मणः फलावश्यं भावनियमइत्यस्य सर्वशक्त्यधिकरणोक्तस्य का गतिरिति चेत् समयफलविषयतया गृहाण । तथा च कल्पतरौ योगियान्नवल्क्यः । अङ्गाविधिसमायुक्तं कर्म यत् क्रियते नृभिः । सुविशुद्धेन भावेन तदानन्त्याय कल्पते । अत्राङ्गप्रकर्षेण फलप्रकर्ष उक्तः । अङ्गाप्रकर्षे तु न फलाभावः । किन्तु फलाप्यत्वमाह योगियान्नवल्क्यः । अर्थे कन्दश्च दैवत्यं विनियोगस्तथैव च । वेदितव्यं प्रयत्नेन ब्राह्मणेन विशेषतः । मन्त्राणामित्यनुषज्यते । विशेषतो विशेषफलाय । * * *]

Do., p. 211.

But none of the details even of a *nitya* ceremony may be omitted, if the doer is capable of performing it :

But which of the many ceremonies enumerated above (*āṅgas*) must be gone through in order that the main ceremony of marriage (*pradhāna*) may be said to have been performed within the meaning of the rule laid down in the सर्वशक्त्यधिकरण ?—

A difficult question. Śabara refers vaguely to the omission of "certain *āṅgas* as immaterial." But which of the *āṅgas* of a main ceremony (*pradhāna*) are material or essential, and which of them are not so?

In the case of marriage, however, the *saptapadī* seems to be an essential ceremony of that kind :

See the texts cit. Also, 12 Cal. 140
(*Brindaban Chandra Karmakar v. Chandra Karmakar*).

So the *Kanyādāna* or the ceremony of giving away the bride :

मनुः । मङ्गलार्थं स्वस्थयनं यज्ञस्तासां प्रजापतेः । प्रयुज्यते विवाहेषु प्रदानं स्वाम्यकारणम् । पाणिग्रहणिका मन्त्रा नियतं दारलक्षणम् । तेषां निष्ठा तु विद्वेद्या विद्वद्भिः सप्तमे पदे । स्वस्थयनं कुशलेन कालातिवाहनहेतुकां करण-साधनात् कनकधारणतितम् स्वस्ति भवन्ती ब्रुवन्ति च । यज्ञश्च प्रजापतिदेवती

वैवाहिको होमः । सर्वं मङ्गलार्थमभिमतार्थसिद्धिमङ्गलं तदर्थमवैधव्यार्थमिति यावत् । स्वास्यकारणं तु प्रदानं न तु वाग्दानम् । रत्नाकरकृतापि प्रदानेनैव कन्यायां वरस्य स्वास्यं जायते कन्या दातुः स्वास्यं निवर्तत इति व्याख्यातम् । निष्ठा भार्यात्वस्य समाप्तिरूपा । सप्तमे पदे गतायां कन्यायामिति बोध्यम् ।

Raghun., उद्वा०, p. 580.

यत्त्वष्टमे वक्ष्यते तेषां निष्ठा तु विज्ञेया विद्वद्भिः सप्तमे पदे इति तद् भार्यात्व-
पंस्कारार्थमित्यविरोधः ।

Kullūka on Manu, V. 152 (मङ्गलार्थं स्वस्ययनम् &c., cit. above).

See—14 Mad. 316 (Where 3 props. are laid down).

Anjana Dasee's Case, 1 B.L.R. 254. 37 Bom. 18.

So the *homa* ceremony :

Brindavana v. Radhamani, 12 Mad. 72
(The marr. here was however in the *Gān-
dharva* form).

So the *gr̥hapraveśa* and the *Ruthusnāna*(?) :

Vaikantam v. Kallipiran, 26 Mad. 497.

But *not* the *Vṛiddhiśrāddha* :

Brindaban Karmakar's Case, 12 Cal. 140.
See, however, Raghun., *Udvāh.*, cit.
(*मरणादिना* c.) ; *ekādaśī*, pp. 539-540
(Venimādhavade's Ed.).

If the ceremony of marriage has taken place, it will be *presumed* that the forms and ceremonies necessary to constitute a valid marr. have been gone through :

Manji Lal v. Chandrabati Kumari 38 I.A.
122=38 Cal. 700.

Brindaban K's Case, 12 Cal. 140.

Even among Hindus, if it is shown that by the custom of the caste or district any other form is considered as constituting a marriage, then the adoption of that form with the intention of thereby completing the marriage is sufficient :

14 B. L. R. 298=23 W. R. 179.

5 Cal. 692.

10 „ 138.

33 Mad. 342.

For such customs, see also—

25 W. R. 386.

17 Bom. 400.

Legal character of a Hindu Marriage :

“A Hindu marriage is the performance of a religious duty, not a contract ; therefore the consenting mind is not necessary, and its absence, whether from infancy or incapacity, is immaterial.”

Mayne, 8th Ed., 90, p. 109. See 5 All. 513 (*per curiam*). (*Deo Kishen v. Budh Prakash* 5 All. 509 (F. B.), at p. 513).

See also—*Dabychurn v. Radachurn*, 2 Mor. Dig. 99. W. & B., 908.

So a marr. with a eunuch is not an absol. nullity :

Nārada, XII. 8-19 ; Manu, IX. 79, 203.

But see Kullūka *ad* IX. 203.

Kanahi v. Biddya, 1 All. 549.

What is this religious duty?—

जायमानो ह वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणवान् जायते यज्ञेन देविभ्यो ब्रह्मचर्येण
ऋषिभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्य इति । स वै तर्ह्यनुष्ठानो यद्वा यज्वा ब्रह्मचारी
प्रजावानिति ।*

Cit. Sabara *ad* Jaim., VI. 2. 31. (ऋणवशापाकरणस्य
ब्राह्मणचर्चिवैश्यानां नित्यताधिकरणम्)

अधीत्य विधिवद्देदान् पुत्रांश्चोत्पाद्य धर्मतः ।

इष्टा च शक्तितो यज्ञेर्मनो मोक्षे निवेशयेत् ॥

अनधीत्य द्विजो वेदाननुत्पाद्य तथा सुतान् ।

अनिष्टा चैव यज्ञैश्च मोक्षमिच्छन् ब्रजत्यधः ॥

Manu, VI. 36, 37.

See also Jaim., VI. 1. 17-21 (यागे दम्पत्योः सहाधिकाराधिकरणम्).

* The Jaim.-Nyāyamālavistara, the Mit. & the Dattaka-mīmāṃsā. Read this Vedic text thus : जायमानो ह वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणवान् जायते । ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देविभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्यः । एष वा अनुष्ठानो यः पुत्री यज्वा ब्रह्मचारी । The true reading is : जायमानो वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणवान् जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देविभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्य एष वा अनुष्ठानो यः पुत्री यज्वा ब्रह्मचारिवासी—Ts. 6. 3. 10. 4.

Its Legal consequences :

(1) Unity of husband and Wife :

अर्धो ह वा एष आत्मनस्तस्माद्यज्जायां न विन्दते न तावत् प्रजायतेऽसर्वो हि
तावद्भवत्यथ यदैव जायां विन्दतेऽथ प्रजायते तर्हि सर्वो भवति ।

Vājasaneyibrahmaṇa, cit. Kullūka *ad* Manu, IX. 45.

एतावानेव पुरुषो यज्जायात्मा प्रजिति ह ।

विप्राः प्राहुस्तथा चैतद्यो भर्ता सा स्मृताऽङ्गना ॥

Manu, IX. 45.

आम्नाये स्मृतितन्त्रे च लोकाचारे च सूरिभिः ।

शरीरार्धं स्मृता जाया पुण्यापुण्यफले समा ॥

यस्य नोपरता भार्या देहार्धं तस्य जीवति ।

जीवत्यर्धं शरीरेऽयं कथमन्यः समाप्नुयात् ॥

बृहस्पति cit. Dāyabh. and Kullūka *ad* IX. 187.

यौतुकं परिणयनलब्धम् । यु मिश्रण इति धातोर्युत इति पदं मिश्रता-
वचनम् । मिश्रता च स्त्रीपुरुषयोरैकशरीरता विवाहाच्च तद्भवत्यस्थिभिरस्थीनि
मांसैर्मांसानि त्वचा त्वचमिति श्रुतेः ।

Jīmūtavāhana, Dāyabhāga. (Ed. by Śrī Nilkamala Vidyānidhi,
Cal., 1st. ed., 1804 B. S., p. 99).

The full text of the *Śruti* referred to by Jīmūtavāhana is this :

प्राणैस्ते प्राणान् सन्ध्याम्यस्थिभिरस्थीनि मांसैर्मांसानि त्वचा त्वचम् ।

Pāraskara Gr.-sū., I. 11. 5.

The wife is transferred to the *gotra* of her husband* :

तदानीं (i. e., सप्तमे पदे गतायां कन्यायाम्) गोत्रापहारमाह लघुहारीतः ।
स्वगोत्राद् भ्रश्यते नारी विवाहात् सप्तमे पदे । पतिगोत्रेण कर्तव्या तस्य पिण्डोदक-
क्रिया । पाणिग्रहणादपि पितृगोत्रापहारमाह आहविवेके बृहस्पतिः--

पाणिग्रहणिका मन्त्राः पितृगोत्रापहारकाः ।

भर्तृगोत्रेण नारीणां देयं पिण्डोदकं सुतैः ॥

चतुर्थी होममन्त्रेण त्वज्जासहृदयेन्द्रियैः ।

भर्ता संयुज्यते पत्नी तन्नोत्रा तेन सा भवेत् ॥

Brhaspati, cit. Sūlapāṇi, आ० वि०; Ed. by Chāṇḍīcharaṇa Smṛitibhūṣaṇa,
Calcutta, 1299 B.S., p. 412; cit. Raghun., उद्गा०, p. 580.

* Except in the case of marriages in the *Gāndharva* and other forms—गान्धर्वौदिविवाहेषु
पितृगोत्रेण धर्मवित् । Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, cit. Nirṇaya-s.

यत्तु सपिण्डस्य गोत्रापहारित्वप्रतिपादकवचनं तच्छाखान्तरीयं शिष्टव्यवहारा-
भावात् ।

Raghun., उद्गा., Do., p. 580.

- (2) No divorce, except by local usage :
Indissolubility of the marriage tie :

यतश्च दम्पत्योरैक्यमतः ।

न निष्कृत्यविसर्गाभ्यां भर्तृभार्या विमुच्यते ।

एवं धर्मं विजानीमः प्राक् प्रजापतिनिर्मितम् ॥

Manu, IX. 46.

नेति । निष्कृत्यो विक्रयः । विसर्गस्यागः न ताभ्यां भर्तृभार्यात्वादपैति...
एवं च क्रयादिनापि परस्त्रियमात्मसात् कृत्वा तदुत्पादितापत्यं चित्रिण एव भवति
न वीजिनः ।

Kullūka on Do.

Thus, conversion to Christianity, with its consequence of expulsion from caste, does not operate as a dissolution of the union :

Adm.-Gen. v. Anandachari, 9 Mad. 466.

See Act XXI of 1866.

Emperor v. Lazar, 30 Mad. 550.

Emperor v. Antony, 33 Mad. 371.

And the marriage remains in force even though never followed by consummation and though, in consequence of the conversion to Christianity of one party, the other renounces the obligations of marr. :
9 Mad. 466, cit. above.

Custody of Wife :

Primâ facie, the husband is the legal guardian of his wife and is entitled to require her to live in his house from the moment of the marr., however young she may be.

But this right does not exist where by custom or agreement, the wife is to remain in her parents' house, until puberty is established.

23 W. R. 178 ; 22 (*Kateeran v. Mt. Gendhenee*
Suntosh Ram v. Geru Pattuck)

17 Cal. 298 (*Re Dhuronidhar Ghose*)

28 ,, 37 ; 751. (*Surjyamonî v. Kali Kanta ;*
Tekai Monmohini v. Basanta Kumar)

cf. 24 Mad. 225 (*Arumuga v. Viraraghava*).

Restitution of Conjugal Rights :

Decree for—how executed : O. 21, rr. 32&33.

Under these provisions, as in England, the Court will take into consideration any circumstances which establish a reasonable obj. on the part of the wife, and will impose proper conditions upon the husband in ref. to such obj. :

Paige v. Sheonarain, 8 All. 78.

A suit per rest of conj. rights lies in the Court within whose jurisdiction the husband resides :

Lalitagar v. Bai Suraj, 18 Bom. 316.

As to the evidence required in such a suit, see—

Surjyamani v. Kali Kanta, 28 Cal. 37, cit. above.

It is no defence to such a suit that the defaulting party is, from illness or other cause, unfit for conjugal intercourse, though if the complainant was the party so unfitted, and if the incapacity was of a permanent and incurable nature, it would *prima facie* be a bar to the relief sought for :

Purshotamdas v. Bai Mani, 21 Bom. 610.*

Other Suits :

Any person, who assists a wife in leaving or remaining away from her husband without a justifying cause, and, *a fortiori*, any one who enters into a Criminal Coun. with her, by which he seduces her from her home, is liable to an action for damages :

Zamoon Bayee v. Narayen, 1 Bom. 164.

As to justifying cause :

Dular Koer v. Dwarkanath, 34 Cal. 971.

Tahadur v. Rajwanta, 27 All. 96.

As to the assessment of damages :

Kelly v. Kelly, 3 B.L.R. (O. C. J.), 67.

Polygamy recognised : No restriction whatever :

Huru Bhau v. Nuthoo, 1 Borr. 59[65].

Virasvamy v. Appasvamy, 1 Mad. H.C.R., 375.

But see Manu, IX. 80, 81, 82 :

मद्यपाऽसाधुवृत्ता च प्रतिकूला च या भवेत् ।

व्याधिता वाहधिवेत्तव्या हिंसाऽर्थघ्नी च सर्वदा ॥

बन्ध्याऽष्टमेऽधिवेद्याऽद्धे दशमे तु मृतप्रजा ।

एकादशे स्त्रीजननी सद्यस्त्वप्रियवादिनी ॥

* See Manu, IX. 79 : उन्मत्तं पतितं क्लीबमवीजं पापरोगिणम् । न त्यागीऽस्ति द्विषन्त्याथ न च दायापवर्तनम् । Kullūka : पतिमपरिचरन्त्यास्यागी न करणीयो न च धनग्रहणं करणीयम् ।

या रोगिणी स्यात्तु हिता संपन्ना चैव शीलतः ।

साऽनुज्ञाप्याऽधिवेत्तव्यां नाधमान्या च कर्हिचित् ॥

Validity of widow marriage recognised among *Namaśūdras* in Bengal :

Hurry Churn v. Nimai Chand, 17 Cal. 138.

Monogamy is one of the tenets of the modern *Brāhmo Samāj* sect :

Sonaluxmi v. Vishnu Prasad, 28 Bom. 597.

वंश-वल्लरी (कायस्थ-कुल—काश्यप-गोत्र) ।

विराट गुह (सां मधुग्राम, राढ़देश । कायस्थकुलमौक्तिक । कायस्थ-
हृदये आगत ये पञ्चजन महातपाः ओ महाज्ञानी कायस्थ-
पुङ्गव महाराज आदिशूरैर्यज्ञभूमिर्ते उपस्थित हन,
तांहादेर मध्ये अन्यतम । इहारा आदि कुलीन वंशजात
कायस्थ वलिया स्यात् । “कुलदीपिका” ।

दशरथ गुह (वल्लाल सेन कर्तृक ‘कौलीन्य मर्यादा’य विभूषित पञ्चजनैर
अन्यतम) ।

लक्ष्मण गुह (वाकरगञ्ज जिलान्तर्गत* चन्द्रदीप परगणाधीन रामचन्द्र-
पुरे “गुह-वंश” इहाराइ सन्तान) ।

* मुसलमान आमले बाङ्गाला देश वारभूजार देश बलिया परिचित छिल । एइ भूजागण निज निज देशे एक एक जन स्वाधीन नृपतिर न्याय समता परिचालना करितेन । चन्द्रदीपाधिपति कायस्थ-कुलगीरव राजा रामचन्द्र छिलेन इहारे नवम नृपति (वङ्गव १००५—ख्रीः १५९८) । तिनिसुदूर अतीति विद्यमान छिलेन । तांहाइर अति साधेर गाम “रामचन्द्रपुर” । एइ गाम राजा रामचन्द्रे द्वाराय स्थापित, ताहा “चन्द्रदीपेर इतिहास” प्रणेता ऐरूप सिद्धान्तेइ उपनीत हन (१म संस्करण, १३२०, पृः ४१ द्रष्टव्य) । इहा वर्तमाने भालकाठी थानार एलिकाधीन बरिशाल सदरेर अन्तर्गत एकटि अति प्राचीन ओ प्रसिद्ध गाम । चन्द्रदीप परगणा वाकरगञ्ज जिलार सर्वोपेक्षा प्राचीन परगणा । “मिश्रो ग्रन्थे,” “भविष्य पुराणे,” “पद्म पुराणे,” “मरुड पुराणे,” “स्कन्द पुराणे” चन्द्रदीपेर एवं कायस्थ जातिर उल्लेख देखा याय । ढाकार विन्तमपुर परगार चन्द्रशेखर चक्रवर्ति नामे धार्मिक, शुद्धाचार, तपानुशील, सुप्रसिद्ध ब्रह्मचारीर प्रति दीवौर आदेशे ‘चन्द्रदीपेर’ प्रसिद्धि । चन्द्रशेखरैर श्रिय शिष्य दनुजमर्दन गुरुर नामानुसारि नूतन राज्येर नामकरण करेन ‘चन्द्रदीप’ भरहाजगोत्रीय कायस्थ रामनाथ दनुजमर्दन दे एइ चन्द्रदीप राज्येर स्थापयिता । ताहा हइते अधस्तन नवम नृपति छिलेन राजा रामचन्द्र । सम्भवतः १३४२ ख्रुः अब्द अर्थात् ख्रीष्टीय चतुर्दश शताब्दीर मध्य भाग दनुजमर्दनैर आविर्भाव काल । Dr. Wiśe ओ वलिन ऐरूप—“He lived according to their pedigree in the fourteenth century” (JASB, Pt. I, No. III, 1874, 1876; *Bāra Bhūpā of Bengal*, 1874; वार भूजा—आनन्दनाथ राय । वार भूइया—मोचदाचरण सामाध्यायी) । “कायस्थ” एर परिचिति—“ख्रुष्टीय ५००० अब्द पूर्वं हइतेइ समय गौडवङ्गेर शासन भूभाग कायस्थ जातिर एकचेटिया छिल । कायस्थैर अनुमीदन, भिन्न विन्दुमात्र जमि काहारओ दखल करिवार सुविधा छिल ना”—महामहोपाध्याय हरप्रसाद शास्त्री । इहा हइते स्पष्टतः प्रतिपन्न हय कायस्थ जातिर सामाजिक मर्यादा किरूप छिल । जनपद रच्चार भार एवं दण्डविधानैर सम्युक्त स्वाधीनता कायस्थैर उपदेव्य छिल । समस्त युगेइ अष्टपद सकल ताहादेर आयताधीन छिल । “कायस्थ” शब्देर विहरि—काय

- हाड़ गुह (वल्लाल सेन कर्तृक १म समीकरण* “महाकायस्थ” पदे अधिष्ठित। “कुलग्न्य”, “कायस्थ जातिर इतिहास”, वङ्गज-समाज, गुह-वंश, १म खण्ड, समीकरण द्रष्टव्य)।
- रुद्र गुह (३य समीकरण)।
- श्रीश्रीचण्डीश्वर गुह (उच्च अङ्गेर कुलीन थाकाय ताँहार नामेर पूर्व्व “श्रीश्री” शब्द योजित हय। प्राचीन “वाकला समाज” ताँहान अतीव प्रभाव छिल)।
- गोविन्द गुह (७म समीकरण)।
- एड़ गुह (१०म समीकरण—७ पुत्र, ४र्थ कृष्ण गुह)।
- कृष्ण गुह (१६थ समीकरण—१६ पुत्र, १०म दैत्यारि गुह)।
- दैत्यारि गुह (रामचन्द्रपुर एवं भालकाठीर संलग्न ग्राम विकनार गुह-वंशेर आदि पुरुष। २२थ समीकरण)।
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- पूर्णानन्द गुह
- श्रीकृष्ण गुह
- रूपनारायण गुह (यशोहर जिलाय वसति। तत्पर “कानुनगोड़” हड़या वाकरगञ्ज जिलाय आगमन। भालकाठी ग्रामार्धेन “नागपाड़ा” ग्रामे वासस्थान स्थापन। कोन कुलीन कायस्थ-समाज ना थाकाय “विकना”य वसवास। विवाह—जगाइ हाजरार कन्या। सां—पुनिहाट। “कायस्थ-समाज”, आश्विन, १३४३, पृ: २५०)।
- रामजीवन गुह (विकना ग्रामे वास)।

तिष्ठति यः सः। कः—ब्रह्मा, आद्यः—वाङ्, स्थ—स्थित अर्थात् ब्रह्मा वाङ्मे उत्पन्न कायस्थ। “कायस्थ” ओ “चविय” एकार्थबोधक—चव—काय, इय—स्थितिवाचक। वङ्ग—ढाका, फरीदपुर, वाकरगञ्ज, नदीया (कियदंश), यशोहर।

* महाराज वल्लाल सेनेर राजखेर अन्तिमभागे कायस्थगण मध्ये ताँहादेर पद-मर्यादा ये सामञ्जस्य महाराज कर्तृक सम्यादित हय, ताँहाइ “समीकरण” नामे ख्यात। “कायस्थ-समाज”, आश्विन, १३४३, पृ: २४८।

काशीश्वर गुह (चन्द्रद्वीप राजसरकारेर अत्यन्त प्रतिपत्तिशाली उच्चपदस्थ कर्मचारी छिलेन। रामचन्द्रपुर ग्रामे चन्द्रद्वीप राज-सरकारेर वाक्पुर चाक्लार] तहसील काछारि छिल। काशीश्वर ऐ काछारि वाङ्गी मौरसी पाट्टा निजपुत्र राजचन्द्र गुहेर नामे लयेन। तारपर विकना परित्याग करिया रामचन्द्रपुर आसिया वास करेन। ताँहार वंशधरगणेर सात पुरुष पर्यन्त रामचन्द्रपुरेर वाङ्गीते वास। काशीश्वर निज वाटीते ७लक्ष्मीनारायण एवं ७मनसार विग्रह स्थापित करेन। तिनि तदानीन्तन समाजे एकजन विशेष समृद्धि-शाली ओ गण्यमान्य लोक छिलेन। तिनि वरिशाल-काशीपुर विल्लवाङ्गीर राजा देओयान रामानन्द वसुर कन्या करुणामयीके २य पक्षे विवाह करेन। काशीश्वरेर मृत्यु हइले साध्वी करुणामयी सहमृता हन। १म पक्षे रामचन्द्रपुरेर रामनाथ वसुर कन्या विजयाके विवाह करेन। “कायस्थ-समाज”, आश्विन, १३४३, पृ: २५०-२५१)।

राजचन्द्र गुह (१म पक्षे गाभानिवासी माधवराम घोषसुता प्रभावतीके एवं २य पक्षे जगत्पट्टीनिवासी शूरनारायण घोषसुता तारिणीके विवाह करेन)।

पञ्चानन गुह (१म पक्षेर २य पुत्र। ताँहार खोपार्जित अर्थे प्रभूत भू-सम्पत्ति अर्जित हय। निज वाङ्गीते उत्तरेर मिठाय एकतला इष्टक-निर्भित वसति दालान, पितामहेर स्थापित ७लक्ष्मीनारायण (कालाचाँद) एवं ७मनसा विग्रहेर जन्य कारुकार्य-खचित सुरम्य दालान एवं वैठकखाना घर प्रस्तुत करिया अतिथि सेवा करेन। तिनि कीर्त्तिनारायण वसुसुता रुक्मिणीके (साकिन् देहेर गति, जिं वरिशाल) विवाह करेन। ताँहार पञ्चपुत्र “पञ्चरत्न” नामे प्रख्यात। “कायस्थ-समाज”, आश्विन, १३४३, पृ: २४८, २५१)।

स्वरूपचन्द्र गुह (“पञ्चरत्नेर”—कनिष्ठ एवं श्रेष्ठ रत्न। १म पक्षेर स्त्री—मनोमोहिनी (सां ओलपुर, जिं फरीदपुर)—निःसन्तान। २य पक्षेर स्त्री—दुर्गामणि (सां नरोत्तमपुर, जिं वरिशाल)। २टी पुत्र—अविनाशचन्द्र, अतुलचन्द्र (अल्प वयसे मृत्यु)।

अविनाशचन्द्र गुह* (“शेष एवं उज्ज्वलतम ज्योतिष्क ।” पत्नी—प्रभात-
कामिनी । सां गाभा, दारोगा वाड़ी, जिं वरिशाल) ।

शेषोक्तिः ।

रामचन्द्रपुरं नाम विद्यते यत् पदं भुवि ।
वाकरगञ्ज आख्याते नगरे गुणसेविते ॥
वसति कीविदस्तत्र गुणवान् गुहवंशजः ।

दृष्टैर्विवादशतसंशमनैर्ज्वलद्भि-
र्वादेरजस्रसुरजध्वनिधीरनादैः ।
यस्याधुनाप्यनुरणन्तितरामिवामी
धर्माधिकारनिलया वरिशालपुर्याम् ॥

तत्रैव हर्म्ये स्वमितेऽमितात्माऽ-
वसद्विशाले व्यवहारराजः ।
आदीपयन्दीपमिमं हिमांशोः
स्वरूपचन्द्रः स गुहान्वयार्कः ॥

स्वामी स्वकालार्चितसर्ववाचा-
मधीश्वरोऽदभ्रभुवः समन्तात् ।
बोद्धापि धर्मार्थधुराः सहस्रं
चतुर्धुरीणो धिषणैकनाथः ॥

* गुह शब्देर अर्थ—कार्तिकेय, विष्णु, परमेश्वर, अधिष्ठातृ देवता, कायस्थैर पङ्क्तिविशेष ।
गूहति देवसेनाम् गुह + क, इति वाचस्पत्ये, अथवा गुह—गुह (संवरण करा) + अ (कर्तृवाच्ये) । यिनि
तारकासुरैर वलवीर्यं संवरण करेन । यद् वा कार्तिकेय प्रिय अग्रहायणी शुक्ला षष्ठी—“गुह षष्ठी ।”
शिवार शान्ति ऐ समये करणीय । भविष्यपुराण । अत्र निबन्धकारैर अज्ञेया पितामही रुक्मिणी
गुहमहाशया १२४० सालेर पौष मासिर “गुह षष्ठी” तिथिते रामचन्द्रपुर ग्रामे श्वशुराजदे मानवलीला
संवरण करेन । “गुह षष्ठी”—दिनपञ्जिका द्रष्टव्य । “वंश-वल्गरी” (यल्लक्ष्य) पठितव्य । उत्तम आय्य
शब्द, निःसन्देह ।

अविनाशिभिः* श्रीमान् तस्यैकस्तनुजो हि यः ।
 पण्डिताग्रगण्यः सोऽपि नानाभाषाविशारदः ॥
 गीतविद्याकुशलश्च व्यवहारनये सुधीः ।
 धीमतो दारकस्तस्य दान्तो हिजेन्द्रनामकः ।
 विद्वज्जनविनोदाय चिनुते पितृलेखनम् ॥

* अविनाशी (-शिन्)—अविनश्यत्तयश्चरयेति । चन्द्रः—चन्द्र (दीप्तिः) + र (कर्त्तृवाच्ये—संज्ञार्थे), उत्तरपदे श्रेष्ठार्थः वाचकः ।

"The name that made the man, immortal and best."

"Has built thyself a lasting monument."—Death verse.

"He was a scholar, and a ripe, and good one ;

Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading ;

* * * * * he died

Fearing God and loving his country."—An epitaph.

"No doubt he was a great scholar of many languages

& the like of him is rare to be found in these days"—Epistle, 31. 3. 48.

EARLY YEARS OF INDIAN IMMIGRATION TO MAURITIUS (1837-1842)

PROF. SUDHANSUBIMAL MOOKERJEE, M.A.

Head of the Department of History, Khalsa College, Amritsar

The British colony of Mauritius is a small island of volcanic origin in the Southern Indian Ocean. About 1,400 miles from the east coast of Africa and nearly 500 miles east of Madagascar, the irregularly elliptical—somewhat triangular— island is 130 miles in circumference and 720 square miles in area (excluding its dependences of Rodrigues, Chagos Archipelago, Agalega and Caryados Carajos). The tiny land-mass continuously lashed by the waves of the Indian Ocean, is only 36 miles long from NNE to SSW and about 23 miles in breadth. Surrounded by coral reefs that the island is, Mauritian ports are difficult of access.

Man has lived in Mauritius for the last 300 years. The island had no permanent population but only visitors before that. The Phoenicians, the most adventurous sea-faring people of antiquity, who sailed out of the Red Sea down the coast of Africa and into the Atlantic Ocean 2,500 years ago, may have been the first people to visit Mauritius. Malayan sailors from the east probably visited Mauritius some 1,500/2,000 years ago. Malaysians in large numbers migrated to Madagascar about this time and Mauritius lies on the direct route from Malaya to Madagascar. It is, therefore, quite probable that Malayan ships touched Mauritius during their voyages to and from Madagascar. The Malaysians, however, do not seem to have founded any settlement in Mauritius such as they did in Madagascar.

The Arabs from the north followed the Malaysians to Mauritius. We have it on the authority of Arab historians that Arabian "junks visited East Africa at various periods from the 10th to the 15th centuries and it is possible that they may have sighted this little island

"Idrisi, the famous Arab geographer, also drew a map showing these African islands in 1153. It is possible that some of the adventures of Sindbad the sailor described in the Arabian Nights are exaggerated accounts of voyages in these seas."¹

¹ *A School History of Mauritius*—W. H. Ingrams.

Mauritius actually appears on several Arab charts. We may, therefore, safely conclude that Arab sailors visited this island. They called it Dina Ardi. The Arabs did not long stay here. They caught fish and captured birds in the island and drew supplies of water for their vessels therefrom.

Portuguese vessels used to touch Mauritius on their way from the Cape of Good Hope to India and back. Don Pedro Mascarenhas² is perhaps the first Portuguese navigator to reach the shores of Mauritius sometime between 1500 and 1530 A.D. The Portuguese did not live permanently in Mauritius. They brought pigs, goats and cattle from Madagascar and left them on the island. Monkeys and rats were also introduced by them, the latter quite unintentionally. The Portuguese called Mauritius by at least four different names.³

The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch. The latter, unlike all previous visitors, occupied Mauritius and remained in occupation thereof from 1598 to 1710 with one short break from 1658 to 1664. The Dutch, says P. J. Barnwell, "Put trade first, ruthlessness second, religion a bad third and culture nowhere"⁴ They named the island Mauritius after Maurice Van Nassau, the king of Holland.

Opinions differ as to why the Dutch abandoned Mauritius. The 19th century traveller Nicholas Pike is of opinion that "The Dutch harassed on one side by these desperadoes (*i.e.*, maroons or runaway slaves) and on the other by the Parsimony of the (Dutch) East India company, were forced to abandon the island (in 1658) Towards the commencement of the 18th century, the Dutch East India Company finding that their possession of the island was only a source of continued troubles resolved to abandon it a second time (in 1710).⁵ Others again hold that "Indian pirates, who lived in Madagascar, struck terror into their hearts

"Another reason why the Dutch abandoned Mauritius was that the slaves revolted."⁶

The French stepped in immediately after the final departure of the Dutch from the Mauritian scene. Captain Dufersue d'Arsal formally annexed the island in 1715 (September 30) and handed it over to the French East India Company. It was re-christened and

² Some writers on Mauritius hold the view that Domingos Fernandez was the first Portuguese sailor to have visited Mauritius. Mascarenhas, they say, discovered the island of Reunion. Vide *A Concise History of Mauritius*—Esnoo Babajee, p. 2.

³ Santa Apollonia, Mascarenhas, Diego Roiz, and Cerne, the last being the most popular of the four names.

⁴ *Visits and Despatches* p. 1.

⁵ *Sub-Tropical Rambles in the Land of Apharaiteryx* (1873).

⁶ Vide *A Concise History of Mauritius*—Esnoo Babajee, p. 5.

came to be known as Isle de France. The first French settlers arrived in 1722. The Seven years' war (1756-1763) resulted, among others, in the collapse of the French East India Company and Isle de France was sold to the French Crown in 1767. It was a source of considerable mischief to English Indiamen and other vessels during the protracted Anglo-French duel in the closing years of the 18th and the opening years of the 19th centuries. Isle de France was captured by the English East India Company in 1810. The island in fact might have been taken long before 1810 and Napoleon rightly observed that the English were fools not to have attacked it long before 1810.

Governor Decaen capitulated on 3.12.1810 on two conditions—(a) all French land and naval forces were to be sent back to France and (b) the inhabitants must be allowed to retain their religion, language, laws and customs. They were also given the option of leaving the island within two years.

Thus ended the 95 year-old French occupation of Mauritius and 75,000 White, Black and coloured human beings—the total population of the island—passed under the British Crown. It may be recalled with interest that the conquering British army included a sizeable contingent of Indian troops.⁷

The Treaty of Paris, 1814, finally ceded Ile de France to the English, who resorted its old name Mauritius and it has been known by that name ever since. The island has steadily prospered under British rule. The population has increased from 75,000 in 1810⁸ to 538,918.⁹ Industries have developed, Commerce has expanded. Means of communication have improved.

The British period of Mauritian history has further witnessed a large scale immigration of Indians—labourers and others—into Mauritius. Mauritian prosperity owes not a little to these immigrants.

Indians were not, however, altogether unknown in Pre-British Mauritius. An Indian came to Mauritius with the Dutch from Madagascar. He was converted to Christianity and came to be known as Lawrence.¹⁰ When the Dutch finally withdrew from Mauritius in 1710, one Calcutya also accompanied them.¹¹ The name is sugges-

⁷ "... for eight long years there was a controversy about the part played by Indian soldiers in 1810. It was not agreeable to the vanity of official historians to acknowledge that as many as 8,740 Indian soldiers served shoulder to shoulder with Britishers when Mauritius was captured."—Esnoo Bababjee in the *Listener*, May 17, 1956, p. 624.

⁸ Of these, more than 60,000 were slaves, less than 8,000 were Europeans and less than 8,000 were free coloured.

⁹ 1954 estimate.

¹⁰ *A Concise History of Mauritius*—Esnoo Bababjee, p. 2.

¹¹ *A Concise History of Mauritius*—Esnoo Bababjee, p. 4, *Kidnapped*.

tive and the man was in all probability an Indian from Calcutta. Mauritius had an Indian settlement during the French period. A few Indians from Pondicherry were introduced in 1730. But they refused to work in the fields. They lived in the capital Port-Louis then known as the Camp and worked on the construction of its harbour. More Indians from Pondicherry introduced in 1740 were found useful as messengers. Governor Mahe de La Bourdonan's (1735-1745) procured some sailors from Pondicherry to work in the Port-Louis' harbour. They were often *kidnapped* by the Captains of the ships visiting Mauritius. Some Indian merchants settled down in Mauritius during the French period. Convicts from Bengal were engaged as domestic servants. Mild and docile by nature, they were very popular and much sought after in that capacity. In 1810, there were thus traders, domestic servants and also some shoe-makers and jewellers among the Indian settlers. The Hindu settlers were known as *Malabars* and the Muslim as *Lascars*. They were gradually converted to Christianity, married Mauritian wives and were merged in the general population.

As a result of the economic expansion of Mauritius and the abolition of slavery in the British colonies in 1833 Mauritius was faced with a serious labour problem and Indian labourers in thousands were recruited to work on Mauritian plantations.

Colour bar was abolished throughout the British Empire in 1828. Slavery was abolished five years later in 1833. The question of slavery had long been kept "before the mind and conscience" of England by Clarkson, William Wilberforce, Zachary, Macaulay and Fowell Buxton. Fox and younger Pitt were their spokesmen in the House of Commons and the slave trade was legally prohibited in 1807. In 1823, Fowell Buxton introduced a motion for the gradual abolition of slavery itself. A circular issued by Foreign Secretary in the same year sought to secure better treatment for the slaves. Finally, in 1833 the Government decided on the emancipation of the slaves. Slavery was to come to an end on August 1, 1834, and slave-owners were to receive twenty million pounds, by way of compensation. A freed slave was to serve a period of "legal apprenticeship" of 4 years. He was to work erstwhile master during three-fourths of the working day or week in return for maintenance. During the remaining one-fourth, he was to be free to work on hire.

Slaves were officially freed in Mauritius in 1835. The planters had calculated that their slaves were worth about four million pounds. They got a little more than two million pounds as their share out

of the twenty million granted by the parliament as compensation to the slave-owners. Freed slaves, as noted above, had each to serve a period of "legal apprenticeship" for four years with his or her former master. The period of apprenticeship was thought necessary because the slaves were to learn some useful trade before full freedom was restored to them.

It may be noted here at the cost of a little digression that Mauritius was in fact a colony of slaves till 1835 and slaves outnumbered free Mauritians. It has been estimated that Mauritius had 87,000 slaves in 1815, 99,000 in 1817, 77,000 in 1826, 69,000 (64,000 according to another estimate) in 1827 and 76,000 in 1835. The total population of the island was about 150,000 (including the slaves) in 1835.

The scheme of "apprenticeship" did not work. The "apprentices" were not willing to work and it is always difficult to get work out of unwilling workers. The planters began to think of alternative sources of supply of labour and their attention was turned to India. Indians, as noted above, were not unknown in Mauritius during the Dutch and the French periods. We hear of at least two Indians in Mauritius during the Dutch rule. Port Louis, the capital of Mauritius, had a sizeable Indian population during the French rule. Quite early in the British period, long before the Government of India formally permitted emigration to Mauritius, convicts from India are found building roads in Mauritius. In 1817-18, when Major-General Hall was the Governor of Mauritius, slaves of European planters used to work on the building of public roads in the island. Hall felt that Indian convicts deported to Mauritius—there were 800 of them in his time—would do the work better. He compelled the planters to pay 26,000 dollars¹² by way of wages to Indian convicts from Bengal, who built good roads in Mauritius.¹³ Charles Darwin of the *Origin of Species* fame, who paid a visit to Mauritius in 1836, saw Indian convicts employed in Government work.¹⁴

¹² The Dollar was the legal tender in Mauritius till 1876 when the Indian rupee replaced it.

¹³ *Vide* Mauritian Affairs (Published by the Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay), p. 3.

¹⁴ The various races of men walking in the streets afford the most startling spectacle in Port-Louis. Convicts from India are banished here for life; at present there are about 800, and they are employed in various public works. Before seeing these people, I had no idea that the inhabitants of India are such noble-looking figures. Their skin is extremely dark and many of the elder men had large moustaches and beards of snow-white colour; this, together with the fire of their expression, gave them quite an imposing aspect. The greater number had been banished for murder and the worst crimes; others for causes which can scarcely be called moral faults, such as for not obeying, from superstitious motives, English laws. These men are generally quiet and well-conducted; from their outward conduct, their cleanliness, and the faithful observance of their strange

The year 1830 witnessed the beginning of a large scale emigration from India. Joseph Argard took 130 Indian artisans to the Bourbon island in that year. Mauritius, which found herself confronted with a serious labour shortage as a result of the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, discovered before long that the problem could be solved by supplies from India. A shipment of 75 Indian labourers was actually arranged in 1834 one year before the abolition of slavery in Mauritius.¹⁵ Their work was found satisfactory and more Indians were imported into Mauritius during the next few years. In August, 1838, there were in all 24,000 Indian labourers in Mauritius, almost enough to replace in freed slaves, who would no longer work in the fields. Petty traders for India accompanied the field-labourers. While the field-labourers were Hindus by religion, the traders were, by and large, Muslims.

The lot of these migrants was far from happy. Their miseries began the moment they embarked. They had to travel in inferior ships, "were packed like sardines in a tin," suffered terribly from Sea-sickness and various other ailments consequent on the "dirty ways of living and insufficient food" provided during the voyage. The Government of India were alarmed and refused to allow any more Indian labourers being taken to Mauritius until better shipping arrangements had been made for the migrants.

If the lot of the migrants was miserable while aboard, it was no better in their new homes. Two ordinances passed by the Mauritian Government (*bearing*) in November, 1835 "*bearing so hardly on the immigrant and tending so decidedly to reduce him to the level of a slave, that they were disallowed by His Majesty-in-Council. As remarked by Mr. (Now Sir) J. P. Grant in a colony so lately a slave-holding one, this was but natural.*"¹⁶ There were "no priests, no schools for the 25,458 Indians introduced from 1834 to 1837. As to the women, there were only 500 of them."¹⁷

Messrs. Percy Woodcock and T. C. Scott of the Indian Civil Service visited Mauritius and as a result of the recommendations made by them the Government of India passed Act V, 1837. The

religious rites, it was impossible to look at them with the same eyes as on our wretched convicts in New South Wales."—Mauritian Affairs (published by the Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay), p. 20 (Quoted from the Voyage of the Beagle by Charles Darwin).

¹⁵ Mauritian slaves were emancipated in 1835. The Government and the planters of Mauritius acted on the principle "To be forewarned, is to be forearmed."

¹⁶ Note on Emigration from India prepared by J. Georgehan, Under Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Agriculture, Revenue and Commerce (1873), p. 11.

¹⁷ A Concise History of Mauritius—Rasnoo Babajee, p. 30 (Quoted from A Cochin's *The Abolition of Slavery*).

Act sought to regulate the recruitment of Indian labourers for Mauritius. It came into operation on and from May 1, 1837, and was applicable at first only to the port of Calcutta. But as a result of the representations from the Governments of Bombay and Madras, the Act became operative all over British India before the year was out. Intending emigrants had to declare before an officer appointed for the purpose that they had executed contracts of service and that they were going of their own accord. Thus began the infamous indenture system¹⁸ under which a labourer had to serve for a period of five years under any employer to whom he or she might be allotted. An indentured labourer could not change his or her employer or work during the period of indenture. There was a grave disparity between the numbers of men and women labourers. Higher wages could not be claimed under any circumstances. The employer was under a legal obligation to provide "fixed wages, free housing, medical attendance and other amenities." An indentured labourer was in fact no better than a slave. "The indenture system," it has been aptly pointed out, "differs from slavery principally in this respect.....that of his proper civil rights those which are left to the slave, if any, are the exception, while in the case of the indentured labourer the exceptions are those of which he is deprived."¹⁹

From 1838, several abuses were found in respect of the treatment of Indian labourers. T. Hugon of the Bengal Civil Service reported in that year that the planters had to connive at the unfair means adopted by the native crimps and the extortion practised by them. The 'coolies' might otherwise be taken to other places. Hugon recommended that a labourer should not be bound by his contract as before. He should have instead the option of obtaining his release by a re-imbursement of the expenses of his introduction, which should, however, be reduced to "*the lowest sum possible*" by governmental interference. Hugon's was a cry in the wilderness and his recommendations were not accepted.

Reports of gross irregularities in the recruitment of labourers had reached the Government of India in the meanwhile. Governor-General Lord Auckland in a minute of July 3, 1838, questioned the advisability and wisdom of permitting people to emigrate to distant countries. He suggested at the same time that a committee be appointed to investigate the matter. Emigration from British India

¹⁸ Vide A History of Indians in British Guiana—Dwarkanath, pp. 8-9—Also Indians Overseas, 1838-1949—C. Koulapi, p. 8.

¹⁹ The British Guiana Commission, 1871.

to Mauritius, British Guiana and other places was suspended from July 11, 1838. The Government of India requested the authorities of French Indian territories to co-operate with them by prohibiting the embarkation of Indian migrants from French Indian ports. The latter readily agreed. A little later M. Henri Maingard from the French Island of Bourbon paid a visit to Calcutta for the recruitment of labourers for that island. The Government of India, however, refused to lift the embargo on emigration and Maingard went back disappointed.

As suggested by Lord Auckland, a committee of six—including one Indian Babu Rasamay Datta—was appointed to go into the question of emigration from India. The Committee were divided in their opinions and its report submitted on October 14, 1840 was signed by only three of the members. The signatories were of opinion that grave irregularities prevailed in the matter of emigration and that emigrants were "*entrapped by force and fraud*". They held that regulations could not prevent the abuses in question and recommended that emigration should not be permitted under any circumstances. They were convinced that deceit and misrepresentation in the matter of the recruitment of labourers in India were practised on a large scale and that the recruits were incapable of understanding the nature of the contracts entered into by them. Once in Mauritius, they were deprived of 50% of the wages promised. Kidnapping of labourers was frequent. The Police and the Magistracy were hostile to the immigrants and the planters refused to fulfil their contractual obligations. Mr. J. Geogenham thus sums up the findings—" (they) may be said to have proved that very grave abuses had prevailed in India, emigrants having been, in too many cases, entrapped by force and fraud, and systematically plundered of nearly 6 months' wages nominally advanced to them but really divided, on pretences more or less transparent, among the predatory crew engaged in the traffic".²⁰ One of the remaining three members of the committee had sailed for England at an early stage of the enquiry and his views on the matter under enquiry were not available. Another, a merchant himself, was interested in the export of labourers. He disagreed with the three who had signed the report submitted on October 14, 1840, and submitted a minute expressing his dissent. The sixth member Sir J. P. Grant also submitted a dissenting report. He agreed that abuses existed; but

²⁰ Note on Emigration from India (1873).

he felt confident at the same time that these could be remedied by providing for proper safeguards.

Confronted by three conflicting reports, the Government of India were unable to take a decision. Members of the Government held divergent views. The matter was, therefore, submitted to the Parliament for a ruling as to whether the report signed by three members of the enquiry committee should be implemented or not. The Parliament, after a lengthy discussion, threw out a motion supporting the recommendation of the report by 113 votes to 24. The policy of the Parliament determined, the details were left to be settled between Her Majesty's Colonial Office and the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

To make a long story short, emigration from India, suspended in 1838 by the Government of India, was definitely prohibited by them in 1840.

"Necessity," they say, "knows no law" and in February, 1841, the Governor of Mauritius requested the Government of India to lift the ban on emigration. He argued that even the most unsympathetic and ill-disposed planters could be restrained from the exercise of arbitrary or unjust power". The Government of India were, however, in no mood to re-open the question of emigration and turned down the request of the Mauritian Governor. The latter next sought the help of the Colonial Office, which decided to move in the matter of the withdrawal of the ban on emigration from India to Mauritius. An Order-in-Council passed through the efforts of the Colonial Office in January, 1842, permitted the resumption of emigration from India and provided for "the regulation of transportation arrangements and for the appointment of agents both in Mauritius and in India".²¹ The Order-in-Council was forwarded by the Secretary of State for Colonies²² to the Court of Directors of the East India Coy. The Court of Directors passed it on to the Government of India and authorised the Governor-General to take the final decision. His attention was drawn at the same time to the necessity of adopting precautionary measures to prevent "a project, intended to promote the advantage of certain classes of the people of India by allowing the free command of their labour, being perverted to their injury".²³ He was further advised to enforce the law "as rigidly as possible" so that its provisions might not be relaxed.

²¹ A History of Indians in British Guiana—Dwarkanath, p. 28.

²² Lord Stanley (later, Lord Derby).

²³ Note on Emigration from India (1873)—prepared by J. Geogenham, p. 11.

The Government of India prepared a draft Ordinance on receipt of the above Order-in-Council and forwarded the same (the draft Ordinance) to the Court of Directors. The Governor of Mauritius again urged (in March, 1842,) the lifting of the embargo on emigration from India. He solemnly assured that the views of the Government of India on the protection of the emigrants would be "carried into the *fullest* and most *complete* effect." The colonial Government also sent to the Government of India the copy of an Ordinance establishing a fund with a recurring annual grant of £25,000 to provide return passage for the emigrants on the expiry of their contract and to defray other expenses. The Colonial Government made it clear at the same that they fully agreed to the draft Ordinance of the Government of India referred to above.

The Government of India relented and lifted the ban on emigration (1842). Fresh rules based on the English Emigration Act was made by an Order-in-Council. The Governments of India and Mauritius passed the necessary laws. Act XV of 1842 permitted under certain conditions emigration of Indians to Mauritius from the ports of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras (1842).

ACHARYYA SANKAR IN THE LIGHT OF KRSNADĀSA KAVIRĀJ

DR. A. VEDANTASASTRI, M.A., D. PHIL
C. M. College, Darbhanga (Bihar)

It is an admitted fact that Acharyya Sankar occupies the highest position in Indian Philosophy. None could avoid him, whether his followers or antagonists. It has been shown in a previous paper that the chief credit of the Āchāryya lies in affiliating the Buddhistic Philosophy to the Brahma Sūtras ; and in doing so, he drew his inspiration primarily from his Grand Guru Ācharyya Gauḍapāda. Kumārila, who was a junior contemporary of Gauḍapāda, declared that the Buddhistic philosophy was not a heterodox one ; it has been evolved out of the Upanisads (*vide* his Vārtika, on the Sābara Bhāṣya, attached to the Sūtra 1. 3. 1. of Jaimini). Thus the affiliation, granted to the Buddhistic Philosophy by Kumārila, reached its culmination, when Sankara, on the basis of the Kārikā of Gauḍapāda, interpreted the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇ in the light of Vijñānavāda and Sunyavāda.

But Sankara's method of interpretation, though accepted by the majority, did not win universal recognition. Acharyyas arose after Acharyya, who took the Sūtras in a different light; and of these Acharyyas Ramanuja is certainly greatest. It is he, who vigorously challenged the Bhāṣya of Sankara and laid down his own views in his Sribhāṣya, which pass by the name Visistādwaitavāda. This doctrine stands as the main challenge to Sankara's Advaitavāda, whereas all others, such as the Bhedābheda of Bhaskara, Dwaitādwaita of Nimbarka, Suddhādwaita of Vallabha and Achintya bhedābheda of Baladeva present one or other aspect of Ramanuja's doctrine. They can be safely deduced from the Visistādwaita of the Acharyya

Baladeva flourished in the eighteenth century. He interpreted the Brahma-sūtras, on behalf of Bengal Vaisṇavism through the medium of Achintyabheda, which originated with Srijib in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Going through Ramanuja and Madhwa (and very likely through Nimbarka, for which, but there is no positive proof) and relying on the Vishnupurana, which Ramanuja utilised to the extreme, Srijib evolved out his theory of Achintyabheda which was accepted as valid by the later savants of his

school. He replaced Ramanuja's theory of Visiṣa by his theory of Sakti; but the difference is more or less academical.

Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāj was a junior contemporary of Srijīva and thus he was earlier than Baladeva by two centuries. He composed three works—(1) Govinda-līlā-mṛta (2) a commentary on the Kṛṣṇakarna-mṛta of Bilwamangal (3) and Chaitanya Charitāmṛta, a biography of the great master in Bengali. But it is a biography in name; Kṛṣṇadas has exposed the religion, philosophy and theology of the Bengal School of Vaisnavism, with the life of Chaitanya as the central figure in his work. Recently this work has been completely translated into English.

In philosophy, Kṛṣṇadas has completely followed the foot-steps of Srijīva; and in order to establish his own theory, he has not hesitated to attack Sankara; but what strikes us the most is the fact that his attack is neither uncompromising like that of Ramanuja nor villifying like that of Vijnana Bhikṣu. He has taken the appearance of Sankara as a normal growth after the domination of the Buddhistic philosophy; and had there been no Sankara, Ramanuja would have been quite a misfit after Buddhism; and the line of thought in that case would have been more or less chaotic. Similarly, had there been no Ramanuja, Srijīva would have proved quite a misfit after Sankara. Thus Sankara after Buddhism, Ramanuja after Sankara and Srijīva after Ramanuja have been taken by Kṛṣṇadās as normal development.

Let us now consider the views of Kṛṣṇadas, which have been embodied in three places of his Charitāmṛta. The occasions were fitting, since they have laid down twice in the context that presents a philosophical controversy between Lord Chaitanya and the great Vedāntin, Prakāśananda Sarasvatī of Banaras, the author of Vedānta-Siddhānta Muktāvalī; and on one occasion in the controversy that went on between the master and the great Sarvaśhauma of Puri, the author of Advaita Makaranda.

ACCORDING TO KṚṢṆADĀSA

(1) Tattwamasi, which declares identity of the individual soul with the Supreme soul, is not the Mahāvākya of the Vedas, though Sankara has declared it to be so. It is but an expression of partial truth, the real truth is the mystic syllable Om and this the supreme words, the fundamental basis of the Vedas.

Indeed the Kathopanīśad stands in full support of Kṛṣṇadāsa. The Prasna calls the symbol of Brabma; so does the Gita and the

Yogasūtras follow suit. Hence the position of Kṛṣṇadas in this respect is not unjustifiable.

(2) By Brahman, he has understood Bhagaban with six aiśvāryas and the conscious and the unconscious, he has taken as the two Saktis of Brahman—the absolute aspect of which being totally repudiated by him. Thus, in this respect, Kṛṣṇadās has got the backing of Ramanuja as well as of the Gita, which he has quoted by way of authority.

(3) The individual soul is subject to the influence of Maya, whereas the supreme soul lords it over the same. Hence there cannot be complete identity between the souls. Here, too, he is influenced by Ramanuja through Srijīva.

(4) His conception of Maya does not appear clear from his writing; but the very trend of his writing shows that it is different from that of Sankar; the lines like “God is the root cause of the whole creation and creator of the same with his Maya energy”, and “He transformed himself into the universe by his will” go on to show that his conception does not materially differ from that of Ramanuja.

(5) But Ramanuja has ignored Absolute Brahman, which is the very life of Sankar’s philosophy. Srijīva, on the other hand, has accepted both, the transcendental as well as the immanent aspect of Brahman, or in other words he has presented a formula based on a compromise between Sankar and Ramanuja. Kṛṣṇadāsa has followed Srijīva; but as his work is not purely a work on philosophy, but a work of religion, on the foundation of philosophy, he has laid stress mainly on the immanent aspect.

(6) And as regards Parināma and Vivarta, he has declared that both the theories are valid but in different spheres. The mistaking of self as identical with the material body is a case of vivarta; but this theory is inapplicable in the case of creation, since the Brahmasūtras stand in favour of Parināma, the theory of transformation.

Kṛṣṇadāsa is right; nowhere the Brahmasūtras speak of vivarta; but the Sūtra “आत्मकृतेः परिणामात्” Atmakṛteḥ parināmāt clearly presents the theory of Parināma, which Sankara could not ignore. Objection was raised against this Parināma on the ground that this makes Brahman liable to metamorphosis. But Kṛṣṇadāsa meets the objection by affirming that Brahman has inscrutable energy, by dint of which he transforms himself into the universe, but remains at the same time unaffected. He draws a parallel and cites the example of philosophers stone, which without being affected in the least, transforms base metals into gold. It is interesting to note that his instance of the philosophers has been borrowed from Sankara himself—his

commentary on the third Valli of the Kathopanishad. Be it said to the credit of Kṛṣṇadāsa that the following line of the Isa Upanisad namely “Purnamadaḥ Purnamidam Purnat Purnamidamuchyate. Purnasya Purnamadaya Purnamevavasisyate” stands in favour of Kṛṣṇadāsa’s contention.

(7) As regards his conception of liberation, it is to be stated that unlike Ramanuja he has admitted Sajuyya; but has refused to accept it as the final goal on behalf of Bhaktas, if not on his own behalf.

(8) As regards Sankar’s mode of interpreting the Brahmasuttras, he has repeatedly affirmed that the Acharyya has rejected the Abhidha Sakti, *i.e.*, the primary sense of the Sūtrās, in favour of laksana Sakti, *i.e.*, the secondary sense of them in order to suit his own purpose; and as regards the purpose, he states that it was to affiliate the philosophical doctrine of the Buddhists to the Brahmasuttras. Thus says he :—
वेदाश्रया नास्तिक वाद वैधके अधिक (Vedaśraya nastikvada Baudhake adhik)
The atheism of the Buddhists, affiliated to Vedas, *i.e.*, Brahmasuttras has eclipsed the Buddhists, themselves.

But notwithstanding all these differences of his from Samkara, he has not blamed him in the least.

He writes :—

(1) He is not to be blamed, as God ordered him to do that

(Ch. Ch. 1. 7. 110).

(2) He is not to be blamed for this. He is only a servant, doing what he did in obedience to the order of God (Ch. Ch. 1. 7- 114).

(3) And yet, the Acharyya is not to be blamed for this; by the order of God, he resorted to this atheistic interpretation of his (Ch. Ch. 11.6) Kṛṣṇadāsa supports this contention of his by an appeal to the Padma-purana, which Vijnana Bhiksu has also done. Finally he says that Sankara had to establish his Adwaitavada on the foundation of Maya-vada—as it was demanded by the Lord—that is—as it was the need of the hour and that is why he had to take recourse to a tortuous way of interpretation for which he is not to blame. Here lies the catholicity of Kṛṣṇadāsa.

SUGGESTIONS FOR REFORM IN EXAMINATIONS SYSTEM.

SHAMSUDDIN.

Education and the problems associated with it are the main topics of deep thinking today. Both the Government and the people are busy devoting all their time towards making it flawless and beneficent to humanity. With this end in view, the Central Ministry of Education directed the State Governments to make necessary reforms in their system of examinations. If this is not done at the present stage, there is every likelihood that it may not only be useless but might even prove harmful to the future society.

CHINESE ORIGIN.

The system of examination was started first in China and then gradually it went on spreading in every nook and corner of the world. It was very popular in the Western countries in the 19th century though towards the end of the same century great reaction also started against it. In the year 1888 an article was published there, in which hundreds of well-known people signed expressing their views against examination system.

They even said that it is nothing but the sacrifice of real education. The early years of the 20th century were marked with great schemes of reforms propounded by the educators. United States of America took a lead in this direction and made a number of reforms in their examination system of secondary as well as higher stages of education. They started a system of practical examinations for recruitment in different services. On the lines of America, England too started reforms in the schools. These were brought about by the Butler Act of 1944.

EDUCATIONAL REPORTS.

Though the urgency of reforms was badly felt from the time of Lord Curzon only, but nothing concrete was done till the advent of the 19th century. The Calcutta University Commission raised a strong voice in the direction and very recently Radhakrishnan Commission as well as Mudaliar Commission also stressed the same question and suggested many reforms. The need for educational reforms

in India is greater, because it has remained under foreign rule for a longer time and owing to their step-motherly treatment, its educational policy was adversely affected.

First, the whole system of education was defective. In the words of Lord Macaulay, in the year 1835, the aim of imparting education was to prepare armies of clerks and officials who could be helpful in offices of the British administration in India. How could a system of education, which had such narrow aim behind it prove to be useful? Certainly it is the root cause of all the defects in our present system of education. Today, we have to remember the verdict of Radhakrishnan Commission of eight years ago. "If we have to make any reform in the higher education, it is in the examination system". The Commission also warned that if we do not take early steps the whole edifice of our education would collapse.

EXAMINATION : DEFECTS

Our present system of examination is full of defects and it is adversely affecting the society. The greatest defect is that our whole education is becoming examination centre. In schools there are weekly, quarterly, half yearly, yearly, and so many other type of examinations. Thus considerable portion of the academic session of schools and colleges is spent in examinations, a student is examined in one subject so many times till he does not obtain his final certificate in that particular subject.

Besides this, another defect is that too much unnecessary importance is being attached to the external examination for acquiring jobs, admission in higher education and securing scholarships etc. The final decision as regards the ability of the student is made on the basis of these external examinations only. This also in a way indicates lack of confidence in those teachers who work hard with their pupils throughout the year. Also it leads to believe that the students are not honest. The external examiners are being employed who do not know the students nor the students know them.

The third defect is that too much importance is attached to the result of examinations. Deplorable part of the thing is that even the efficiency of the teachers is being determined on the results of these examinations. This practice was started from the time of Hunter Commission of 1882, which recommended that the teachers should be paid according to the results they produce. Even today the Inspectorate and the Managing bodies of the educational institu-

tions demand examination results to determine the efficiency of the teachers.

The guardians and the society in general also lay too much importance on the examination results.

The fourth great defect of examination system is that it only tests the intellectual development of the pupils. It does not at all examine his all-round development which goes to make his real personality. Of course, in modern times such types of tests have been introduced which besides intellectual ability would judge the whole personality of children. They measure the attitudes and aptitudes, social development and physical and mental health, human adjustments and other aspects of the lives of children.

The fifth defect is that the present system of examination is most unreliable and inadequate. After great research and investigation by the renowned educationists like Starch, Elicot and Hartog in U.S.A. and England and A. K. Dutta and D. N. Mukerjee in India, We have reached this conclusion. It is observed that there is a lot of difference in the evaluation done by two different examiners on the same question. Not only that but if the same examiner values a particular question after an interval of some time, the difference is clearly marked.

METHOD OF EVALUATION

Resides all the points mentioned above, the method of evaluation is also defective. The students who are declared successful in first, second, or third division, are even declared unsuccessful on the basis of marks scored by them when there is no surety of the justice done to them. At times the irritated mental condition of the examiners may severely affect the future prospects of the students.

To put the whole thing in a nutshell we can say that our present system of examination is a great national waste. The estimated percentage of failures range from 38 percent to 60 percent upto Intermediate classes and 20 to 62 per cent in Degree examinations. It is due to the fact that the students are not very earnest about their study for considerable time of the session and centre all their energy over it just a few days before the examination.

PUPILS DEMORALIZED

In the end the examination system also demoralises pupils resulting in the loss of national character and ideals. So far as the question of selection and appointment of examiners is concerned, it

becomes a means of gaining power and position and popularity in Universities. There are even such opportunities and vested interests in this field, who do not like to have any reform in the present system of examination.

Today things have gone to such an extent that even books are written with the sole aim of examination in view. This also leads to the loss of national income. Even the student mass of today prefers to have such books which can be crammed easily, instead of the standard books or original works written by the standard writers. The result is that the best work of arts and science are getting discouragement day by day in India.

ART OF TEACHING

Due to defective system of examination the art of teaching is also deteriorating both in matter and the method. The Calcutta University Commission made a reference to it and pointed out, "All instructions are imparted within the narrow limits of the syllabus, all other education does not come under the purview of the examination and which cannot be asked in question papers is badly neglected. Both the teachers and the taught pay more attention and centre all their energies to the probable questions expected in examinations, rather than, to the real teaching and studies."

The main aim of the student is, anyhow to get through the examination. If any intelligent and enthusiastic teacher who has deeper knowledge of education, tries to tell something more beyond the limits of courses, the students at once ask, "Sir, can it be asked in the examination?" In other words the students have no quest for learning anything more than what can be actually asked in the examination. Under the circumstances the teachers have to mould themselves according to the demands of the students and they become merely cram-book, losing all their intelligence and originality.

REFORMS NEEDED

Looking to the above short-comings it is very essential to make profitable reforms. The basic reform which is of paramount importance is to elevate the status of the teachers who are the fountain head of inspiration and knowledge in all reformatory schemes. First of all we have to create a sense of satisfaction among the teachers and raise their status in society. Generally it is said

that the reforms in the system of examination greatly depend on the moral improvement of the teachers but it is also equally true to say that the moral improvement of the teachers depends on the type of reforms in the system of examination.

Thus a vicious circle has been created which is to be ended at all costs. Means should be provided so as to make them conscious of their inherent greatness which will naturally result in the efficient discharge of their responsibility and accordingly they will doubtless give fair and impartial judgment as regards the abilities of children.

‘RECORD FORMS’

In modern times so many new types of reforms are being suggested to root out the evils of present examination system. Introduction of ‘Record Forms’ is one of them. The forms are meant to keep a record of an all round information of the pupils in school. These will not only indicate the intellectual attainment of the children but will also give correct estimate of the attitude and aptitudes, interests, special qualities and other marks of their personality.

There can be one more suggestion in connection with the reforms in examination. While giving admission to students in colleges, attention should be paid not only to the percentage of marks obtained in the annual examination, but his full records maintained in the form of cumulative records in schools should be taken into consideration so that the real judgment of their whole personality may be done. Also the Government should not attach too much importance to the Degrees and certificates but should keep special State Examinations as also suggested by the Radhakrishnan Commission.

In America teachers themselves conduct the examinations. They set the question papers and value the answer books. They are allowed to frame their own methods of teaching according to the needs and situations and determine the progress of the students. They test the students twice in a year—first in the middle of the year and second and final decision of the ability of the students is done on the combined credit of these two tests. As the general strength of the class is sufficiently big, tutorial method is not emphasised, even then at times the teachers do give tutorial work to the students and thus personal attention is paid.

In India we can achieve the desired result by combining all the three systems i.e. record of tutorial work, terminal work, terminal examinations and final examinations at the end.

EXHIBITION OF MRS. ATASI BARUA'S PAINTINGS

BIMALENDU KOYAL, M.A.

Exhibition of drawings and paintings of Mrs. Atasi Barua which was held at the Artistry House, 15 Park St., Calcutta from 14. 12. 58 to 20. 12. 58. attracted the attention of a large number of art lovers and critics.

Artist Asit Kumar Haldar's daughter and wife of Dr. Arabinda Barua Sm. Barua developed her artistic talent unaided which made her work more individualistic and charming. Having lost her mother in her childhood her only preoccupation had been drawing and painting which gradually developed into a distinguished virtue both pleasing and thought-provoking. She had the opportunity of travelling in Nepal and Ceylone along with her husband as a delegate to the World Fellowship of Buddhist Conferences. She availed of this opportunity and utilised it by making rapid sketches of her fellow delegates—Chinese, Japanese, German, French, Ceylonese, Nepali—all people of great distinction in their respective walks of life.

Among her original conceptions in paintings, we see pictures illustrating various episodes from Lord Buddha's life and also from the life of Parshanath. The Jain series of her drawings had been translated in marble for the Belgachia Digambar Jain Temple and can be seen there. These have been justly hailed by critics because of their finish of execution and realistic details, at the same time preserving the religious fervour of the artistic themes.

Mrs. Barua's work, we believe sustained the typical cultural traits of Indian art which had a continuity and also homogeneity inspite of Provincial diversity for over 2,000 years. It is easy to imitate the French modernism but to create things out of imagination at the same time retaining realism and also symbolism of the various popular themes is difficult. We congratulate Mrs. Barua heartily for her fine work done in the midst of her other duties.

Reviews and Notices of Books

'THE MAN OF THE CENTURY'

(Continued from the July issue)

Bernard Shaw: His Life, Work and Friends.—By. St. John Ervine.
Constable: London.

IV

As may be expected, Mr. Ervine's book is rich in intimate and fascinating details about the personal habits and characteristics of Bernard Shaw. In his earlier work, *Some Impressions of My Elders*, Mr. Ervine sought to counter the Shaw legend and present the truth about him by saying: "The common notion is that he has an insatiable craving for publicity, is immensely conceited and self-centred, and does not care what folly of thought or conduct he commits if by so doing he draws attention to himself. The truth about him is that he is a shy and nervous man, singularly humble-minded and sincere, very courageous and full of quick, penetrating wisdom, and so generous and kindly that he may be said to be willing to do more for his friends than his friends will do for themselves." He said further: "One remembers men by odd things. I remember . . . Mr. Shaw as a shy, erect man with fine, shapely hands, who talks emphatically because otherwise he would not be talking at all." The portrait of Shaw the man that emerges from the present work, written 33 years later, corroborates the earlier statements with a multitude of vivid detail that have about them all the authenticity that forty years of close personal acquaintance can give. It will be a rich reward for Mr. Ervine's labours if his book under review can finally make the truth prevail over the legend.

The wealth of detail in the book about Shaw the man is such that reviewer is faced with an *embarras de choix*. A few extracts might indicate the interest and value of the book in this regard. This, for instance, is what Mr. Ervine writes while speaking of Shaw's tremendous energy and vitality:

"He was assiduous in exercising his body, taking long walks, and rising early to swim in the pool at the Royal Automobile Club when he was in London. He took an impish delight in walking men much younger than himself off their feet, he seemingly as fresh at the end of a long expedition as he had been at the beginning, they limp and exhausted. He would invite an abounding youth to join him in climbing the Malvern Hills, and enjoy the spectacle of the bedraggled and no longer abounding youth crawling home footsore and sad while he was ready, it seemed, to repeat the expedition at once His energy was, indubitably, great, but it was almost entirely nervous, and his appearance of immense vitality on platforms was not sustained when the speechifying was over and the platforms were deserted. All his movements were quick and animated. His stride was long and swift, and

he moved through the streets at a pace that would have caused many people to run if they had tried to keep up with him. But, unless he was in an impish mood, he deferred to other people's limitations and adapted his pace to theirs."

In another passage Mr. Ervine speaks of people turning to stare as Shaw "strode along the street, swinging his arms and taking long strides, while his eyes, as quick as a sparrow's, darted glances in every direction as if he were afraid of missing some sight he ought to see". "I doubt", adds Mr. Ervine, "if many men got as much out of a walk in the street as G. B. S. did." A guide who attended on him during his tours in New Zealand in 1934 declared that he had never accompanied a man who walked as fast as Shaw, who was then 78!

All this energy Shaw of course ascribed to "Brussels sprouts and runner beans". Mr. Ervine, however, tells us that in his old age Shaw would confess that men and women less abstemious than himself thrived as well as he. "Ibsen, he admitted sadly, was addicted to drink, but he lived to be seventy-eight, never had a headache that anyone had heard of, and, apart from many poems, wrote about twenty plays that profoundly changed the character of drama throughout the world."

Shaw's vegetarianism, incidentally, did not exclude an occasional helping of fish, especially when an adequate vegetarian meal was not available. His conversion to vegetarianism is thought to have been due to the influence of Shelley. Mr. Ervine points out that it was also due to a hope that it would end the severe headaches from which he used to suffer. It was not due, Shaw emphasised, to compassion for slaughtered animals; it was due to his abhorrence of "burying dead bodies in one that was alive". The main factors in his conversion, Mr. Ervine conjectures, were the bad food he was given at home and the availability of cheap and better meals at the vegetarian restaurants of which there was a sudden crop in London at a time when he was struggling hard for a living. He was converted to vegetarianism in January 1881, gave it up the following June while convalescing with his doctor uncle, Walter, from an attack of small pox (undoubtedly on the uncle's insistence), but resumed the following October and stuck to it till his death. Vegetarianism, combined with a complete abstention from tea, coffee, tobacco and drink, often stood in the way of his association with other people. "He was not often found at public dinners, but when he went to one, he generally dined at home and turned up at the fraction after the food had been eaten." Dining with the Morriszes, he was cornered, as he says (in his introduction to the second volume of May Morris's biography of her father), between host and hostess; William Morris had no objection to a vegetarian diet but insisted on a bottle of wine to wash it down; Jane Morris did not care whether her guest drank wine or water, "but abstinence from meat she regarded as a suicidal fad."

This is how Mr. Ervine describes Shaw's laughter. The passage is all the more fascinating because it describes the laughter of a great comedian:—

"G. B. S. laughed with his whole body. His laughter would start in his feet, which seemed to dance, and ran up his long legs, shaking them thoroughly as it ran, and then it caught hold of his shoulders, and almost shook them off. Then he would fling up his arms, smiting his hands together as if they were cymbals, and his legs would begin to be riotous. Chesterton's laughter was a bubble and squeak in comparison with G. B. S.'s. He would chuckle like a child, but his body, being too fat, could not heave itself about as G. B. S.'s did. G. B. S. spread an infection of laughter all round him, and could make Charlotte cry with laughing."

Here is another aspect of the same man: an aspect not known to many:—

"During one of these visits, to lunch with the late Admiral and Mrs. Parker, I saw him more abashed and disconcerted than I had ever seen him since the evening when, at a meeting of the Fabian Society, Anatole France publicly kissed him on both cheeks. Admiral Parker called him Sir. To be addressed in that style by an admiral shook him. He could not have felt more overcome if the Queen had dropped a curtsey to him."

The reference to Anatole France in the above extract relates to an occasion when he visited London and addressed the Fabian Society. Shaw presided. When Anatole France complimented him in the manner described, "he blushed like a shy schoolgirl".¹ At this meeting, Mr. Ervine further tells us, Mrs. Shaw had to whisper explanations to her husband while Anatole France spoke in French. He was a bad linguist, and she, an accomplished one. He once told Mrs. Patrick Campbell that he would rather write three plays than ask his way anywhere in a foreign country. Inability to learn foreign languages was indeed part of the explanation for his dislike of foreign travel, though he had a great passion for sight-seeing. By contrast, Mrs. Shaw had a passion for globe-trotting but hated sight-seeing.

Mr. Ervine also draws our attention to a trait of Shaw's character which was the source of much misunderstanding in his lifetime. He was terse when under deep emotion, and "he was never more serious than when he was apparently flippant and unseasonably jocular". "His intimates," says Mr. Ervine, "knew that he was most deeply distressed when he uttered a jest that made him seem to be insensitive and heartless." Those who were not aware of this paradox of Shaw's character were of course liable to misunderstand him. Granville-Barker, for one, was astonished at his gaiety during his mother's cremation. Explaining, Mr. Ervine says that G.B.S. was once more hiding his emotion under an air of raillery.

¹ A passage from *Some Impressions of My Elders* is worth recalling in this connexion: "I have seen him (Shaw) blush like a boy on finding people in a room which he had expected to find unoccupied, and when one meets him casually in the street he is at first non-plussed and without conversation or power to do more than smile amiably."

Of Shaw's kindness and generosity numerous heart-warming instances are given in Mr. Ervine's book. "He was one of those uncommon men and women," remarks Mr. Ervine, "who offer help before it is demanded." His sense of gratitude for benefits received was as remarkable as his eagerness to confer them. Because Frank Harris had given him employment on the staff of his paper, *The Saturday Review*, during his hard days in London in the nineties, he helped Harris generously even when the latter was "busy blackguarding him".

He was averse to titles and honours. If he had any worth, his writings, he was sure, would keep him alive; if he had none, the sooner he was forgotten the better. He declined to be made a member of the Order of Merit, and he declined honorary degrees from Universities because, he said, it was unfair that men who had worked hard for degrees should be humiliated by finding that men who had not worked at all should have them given to them in circumstances of high honour. The only honours he accepted were the Freedom of Dublin (a place which he hated!), the Freedom of London, and the freedom of the borough of St. Pancras where he had lived for some time and of which he had once been a councillor.

Shaw had an exceptionally good memory, and his curiosity was insatiable. "He had the quick eyes of a bird," writes Mr. Ervine, "and he seemed to observe very quickly all there was to observe. To travel in a car or a train with him was to notice his head continually turning to see all the sights." He had a passion, Mr. Ervine goes on to inform us, for the latest gadget. "His interest could be excited immediately by showing him a new machine. He was among the first people in England to ride a motor-bicycle, and he got himself a motor-car as soon as he could, learning to drive it himself." Mr. Ervine points out that one of the first, if not actually the first chauffeur to be put in a play was Henry Straker in *Man and Superman*. Shaw, however, was a bad driver ("like H. G. Wells", adds Mr. Ervine), though he himself thought otherwise. During his tour in South Africa in 1932 he "made a mistake about the accelerator, treading firmly on it when he should have taken his foot off". The result was an accident and severe injuries to Mrs. Shaw. While she was recovering from her wounds, Shaw wrote *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God*!

Speaking of his reading habits, Mr. Ervine says that his reading was omnivorous and surprising, "for he read books that would cause the majority of intelligent persons to shudder at the thought of boredom beyond belief". While he enjoyed reading plays, he seldom read novels. But he had a passion for Dickens² (whose *Harold Times* he acclaimed as

² Mr. Ervine says that Sartorius and Lickcheese, in *Widower's Houses*, are both derived, not only in nature and relationship but in actual situation, from Casby, the owner of the Bleeding Heart Yard in *Little Dorrit*, and Pancks, his rent collector. He invites a comparison between the scene in Act II, where Sartorius dismisses Lickcheese from his service, and that in chapter 32 of the second book of *Little Dorrit*.

about the best of his novels: a valuation which Mr. Ervine is unable to accept), and he always read the novels of H. G. Wells. To Scott he was averse in his early years but devoted later in life.

To Shaw's powers as a speaker Mr. Ervine provides interesting testimony from personal reminiscence. The first time he heard him lecture Shaw spoke on "Some Necessary Repairs to Religion". Not that the writer was wholly convinced by Shaw's arguments; yet he came out of the lecture hall with his beliefs "in disarray" and wondering whether he would ever be able to assemble them again. "Such was his effect on audiences. People left a meeting which he had addressed not always agreeing with him, but with their minds responsibly provoked." Mr. Ervine speaks of "his pleasant Irish voice which, while it had no great oratorical notes in it, such as adorned the speeches of Gladstone and John Bright, was not only clearly articulated, but highly evocative of deep and thoughtful response from an audience." One learns at the same time, not without surprise, of the nervousness that lay behind Shaw's brilliance as a speaker. When he made his first public speech at a meeting of the Zetetical Society, he was trembling though he seemed to be entirely at ease. When he was asked to take the chair at a subsequent meeting, his hand trembled so much that he could scarcely sign the minutes. "These nervous apprehensions", Mr. Ervine adds, "were eventually overcome, but not easily, nor was he ever free from them. Yet he had that delusive air of complete confidence in himself and feeling entirely at his ease that is one of the most remarkable characteristics of all highly nervous people who take part in any sort of public life." One learns too from Mr. Ervine that Shaw's readiness in retort and rejoinder was acquired slowly and with great labour.

Mr. Ervine bears witness to the extraordinary care that Shaw used to take over the printing of his books. He was punctilious in his choice of type and binding. The green covers in which his books were first issued in Great Britain and the entirely different format used when his works were collected were both his own choice; the format was changed because the green was found to fade easily. It was on his insistence that contracted words in his books were printed without apostrophes (e.g., *dont* for *don't*) and emphasis was denoted not by italics but by spaced letters. Curiously enough, when his works came to be published in America, he left the entire business to the discretion of the publishers.

In this connexion Mr. Ervine might well have referred to a letter of Shaw's once published in the now defunct *The London Mercury* in reply to one from a reader who had complained that the published plays of Shaw were too closely printed and suggested that they deserved a better typography, better paper and a better get-up. Shaw wrote to say that the typography, the spacing of the print, the paper, and the get-up had all been carefully chosen by himself after much thought and experiment:

all with a view to giving the reader a fair deal, which he rarely got, by lightening the strain on his eyesight and purse as much as possible. Nothing, he wrote, is more damaging to the eyes than the reflection of light from a white surface: that was why he wore coloured glasses when writing in his garden. Hence the spacing of the print in his published works, hence the paper on which they were printed, and hence the green colour of their covers. A second consideration was he did not want his books being too costly for the reader of average means.

It is well worth noting in this connexion that Shaw's services to British drama rest not merely on the plays he wrote but also on the form in which they were published. "The whole traffic of play-production in book form", says Mr. Ervine, "was revolutionised by G. B. S., and the fact that publishers' lists now commonly include plays is entirely due to him." The British public had lost the habit of reading modern plays; it was Shaw who made them get it back.

What Mr. Ervine says Shaw's physiognomy is no less interesting than what he says about features of his character. He speaks of the strange dissimilarity between the two sides of Shaw's face: a dissimilarity which became more pronounced in his middle and last years. "One side was genial, almost benign and full of fun and laughter: the other side had a brooding look that was to become almost tormented in his old age, making him, in some aspects, resemble Tolstoy, but a Tolstoy who had a sense of humour. Few faces are so dissimilar in their halves as G. B. S.'s was. The bewildered prophet, the suffering sage is balanced by the wit who is liable at any moment to turn Pan, kick up his heels and play impish pranks". The 'Mephistophelian shape' of his eyebrows, we learn, was "carefully cultivated" by their owner.

"Two men, highly dissimilar from each other," writes Mr. Ervine, "found a Christ-like appearance in his head: G. K. Chesterton, in his book on G. B. S., and Rodin, who made a bust of him," Chesterton was a great friend of Shaw's, whereas Rodin knew little or nothing about him when he made his bust. 'C'est une vrai tête de Christ,' declared Rodin to his secretary, A. M. Ludovici. The impression was shared by Madame Rodin.

There is no end, indeed, to the interesting things one learns about Shaw from Mr. Ervine's book. One learns, for instance, that he had an ascetic indifference to his environment; that he had little interest in natural beauty; that he did not sleep in sheets (many will wonder with Mr. Ervine what objection he might have had to linen); that he took immense pleasure in being photographed (he had a photogenic face); that he was in the habit of carefully preserving old notes and letters even though they did not call for preservation; that he was an excellent committee man and it was only in his old age "when garrulity took possession of him" that he ceased to be so; that he had an engaging gift for "general

and varied friendship" (*pace* Oscar Wilde who said that Shaw had no enemies but that all his friends disliked him); that he settled in Ayot St. Lawrence because of an inscription on a tombstone in the local churchyard recording the death of one Mary South at the age of 70, with the added comment that 'her time was short'! At the same time Mr. Ervine makes short work of a good many legends about Shaw: the legend, for instance, that he was mean and parsimonious; that as a struggling author in London he used to sponge on his poor mother (a legend for which Shaw himself was responsible); that Granville-Barker was a natural son of his; that he enjoyed marvellously good health, thanks to a vegetarian diet; that he (and Mrs. Shaw) disliked animals and children (Mr. Ervine's book has a delightful photograph of Shaw, aged 78, at play with a little boy); that he detested sports and games. Apropos of the last item: his famous entry in *Who's Who* notwithstanding, he was interested in chess and card games, in boat races, in golf (cricket, however, bored him), and particularly in boxing matches. During the rehearsals of *Back to Methuselah* at the Birmingham Repertory Theatre (he was then nearing 70), he was once found missing, and while they were fussing over his long absence, he walked in to explain that on his way to the theatre he had come across an advertisement of a boxing match and had gone off to see it!

Certain things about Shaw that one learns from Mr. Ervine cause surprise (pleasant or unpleasant according to the inclinations of the reader concerned). One learns, for instance, that Shaw, a complete rebel in his mind, was remarkably conservative in his general behaviour. "He could kick over traces as abruptly as any man of his quality is accustomed to do, but he was unusually systematic in his habits, and he kept to his routine more closely than the majority of people." He did so, "so that he might have more leisure for the hard work which could not be done in a ritual fashion." He liked a regular life, and "his tongue was as chaste as that of an enclosed nun." The Rabelaisian speech of his uncle, Walter, did not corrupt his own in the slightest degree. Even mild expletives were so rare in his conversation that "to hear him say *damn* was remarkable." There are words in James Joyce's *Ulysses* which, he said, he could not even write. Despite his advanced social views, he hated to hear of divorce among his friends, and though he was greatly attached to Harley Granville-Barker, his affection diminished when the latter was divorced from the actress Lillah McCarthy. He shocked Mrs. Annie Besant and their associates by upholding the legal decision which deprived her of the custody of her daughter after her separation from her husband. In a similar way, though he was a great admirer of the poet and had been deeply influenced by his work, he used to support the decision that had deprived Shelley of the custody of his children.

Mr. Ervine has also penetrating criticisms to offer of aspects of Shaw's

character. He speaks, for instance, of his "singular obtusity which sometimes dumbfounded his most ardent admirers," and goes on to add:

"The supreme fact about him was that he never became intimate enough with anybody to understand him or her as thoroughly as any human being can be understood. He was too interested in himself and his own expression, a charge which he brought fairly enough against Sir Henry Irving without, however, perceiving that it could have been brought with equal fairness against himself, to be able to understand anybody intimately: and his inhuman lack of rancour and his total inability to sustain a quarrel or to bear malice, added to his acceptance of any fault or misdemeanour in other people as a humorous idiosyncrasy, deprived him of all power of full appreciation of any person's character. He is the only man I have ever known who never, so far as I could discover, felt jealous of other people's success. This may have been a virtue in him: it may also have been a vice."

There is a refreshing novelty about the view taken in this extract of features of character that other people might regard as unalloyed virtues.

But it is not merely of Shaw that Mr Ervine tells; he tells also, often in a very interesting way, of his many friends and associates and the people he met. He speaks of the Webbs (Sidney and Beatrice) and of H. G. Wells and of Shaw's relations with them in more detail than of other people (barring William Archer, already dealt with). He is trenchantly outspoken in his handling of nearly all of them, and his book may not please certain quarters. Whatever their truth or fairness, his characterisations and thumbnail sketches of some of these people are delightful. Here are a few samples:—

[Of H. G. Wells] "...one of those restless men who live in a continual state of upheaval. His sociological works are based on discontent for the sake of disturbance ...He waved his arms about, but quickly tired of application to the problem he urged other people to solve.....his arms depended from his shoulders as if they were an afterthought by his creator who had hung them very carelessly".

[Of W. B. Yeats] "It was about this time that G. B. S. met a long, lean, remote-looking young man who seemed to have mislaid himself. This was W. B. Yeats, who was then twenty-three and had lately arrived from Dublin, "trailing clouds of Celtic Twilight".

[Of Harley Granville-Barker] "There was something essentially dreary in his composition, and the signs of it were evident when he was in repose or unaware that he was being observed; and he had the trick which Beatrice Webb also had, of expressing his dreariness by drawing up one nostril."

[Of Beatrice Webb] ".....in her favourite position, close to the fire, with her hands outstretched to the coals as if, as was probably true, she was perpetually cold She would have fallen in admiration at the feet of the French Minister of Education who boasted that all the school children in France at any given moment would be reading the same lesson!"

[Of Jane Morris] "She habitually lay about on sofas looking elegantly ill, though her health was excellent."

[Of Lady Gregory] "that monumental widow who went about swathed in weeds and crape as if she were Queen Victoria's understudy."

[Of Charles Bradlaugh] "He was a highly significant figure in his time, too significant, indeed, to be remembered beyond his time. Victory was, in a sense, his

undoing. That won there was nothing left for him to do but to repeat himself, and no one is so soon forgotten as the man who converts his opponents into supporters."

[Of Lloyd George] ".....the half-educated Lloyd George whose chief and almost only literature was Wild Westerns which he read every night in bed, leaving the light on after he had fallen asleep lest he should frighten the wits out of himself by waking up in the dark".³

[Of James Ramsay Macdonald] ".....who could never make up his mind whether he was starry-eyed or opportunist, and tried hard to be both".

[Of Henry Salt⁴] "...who thought, very oddly, that life at Eton was too luxurious and decided, when he had accumulated enough private capital, to lead a life of cultured simplicity, on his unearned income, in a labourer's cottage. Its carefully arranged simplicity seemed somehow to make Eton appear bleak with austerity, and it caused dismay among Salt's neighbours, who feared that if this cult of simplicity were to spread they might themselves be obliged to join it: a prospect that gave them no pleasure at all".

[Of Henry Hyde Champion⁵] "He emigrated from England to Australia, where he soon made himself a public nuisance, enjoying himself enormously in the process, but his health, which had begun to deteriorate in England, now steadily declined, and in the end he petered out and died, the dampest squib that ever spluttered and failed to explode effectively."

[Of Clifford Sharp⁶] "(His) style was as heavily pedestrian, as a policeman's feet".

Mr. Ervine is rather severe with H. G. Wells⁷ and Beatrice Webb, and a little less severe with Sidney Webb. "The Webbs truly believed", he tartly comments, "that if men and women were sensible enough to entrust their affairs to well-trained civil servants, Morris's Earthly Paradise, with the poetic nonsense omitted, would be established." We learn from him, incidentally, that there is a good deal of Shaw buried in the Webb's work: "he read and revised their proofs, sometimes altering them extensively, and always for the better." Mr. Ervine's comparison of Shaw and Wells on pp. 415-16 of his book will be read with interest as also a couple of unpublished letters exchanged between the two which he quotes on pp. 417-20 (he is indebted for the letter from Shaw to Wells to Prof. Gordon N. Ray of the University of Illinois, well-known editor and biographer of Thackeray, who is writing a life of H. G. Wells). His epitaph on H. G. Wells is worth quoting: "Wells, convinced that all progress was made by the accumulated activities of large groups of innominate people, ran about the earth looking for leaders, and then, convinced that there were none, died in despair. Beginning with the belief that wilful man could

³ "Who never remembers a friend or forgets an enemy" is how Lloyd George is characterised in *Some Impressions of My Elders*.

⁴ An ex-master of Eton and a member of the Land Reform Union, one of the 'socialist' societies Shaw used to frequent in the eighties.

⁵ Another member of the Land Reform Union,

⁶ First editor of *The New Statesman*, founded by the Webbs in 1913, with money from Fabian sympathisers, including £1000 from Shaw. Later Sharp and Shaw fell out with each other.

⁷ His treatment of Wells is much more favourable in *Some Impressions of My Elders*.

achieve everything, he ended in the belief that wilful man could achieve nothing." Mr. Ervine is, of course, thinking of *The Fate of Homo Sapiens* and *Mind at the End of Its Tether*.

One has to agree with Mr. Ervine when he says that the fact that Shaw could unite William Morris and Sidney Webb in his mind and faith is one of the signs of his extraordinary universality. He provides the correct perspective on the much-discussed quarrel between Shaw and Sir Henry Irving, and attempts a defence of Shaw's conduct in connexion with the Sir Roger Casement affair. In regard to the latter, Shaw has been charged with apathy by Beatrice Webb; in regard to the former, he has been accused of throwing stones at Irving's coffin. The fact of the matter was that Shaw had made a statement about Irving, in itself not altogether unjustifiable, in an obituary article written at the request of a Viennese paper. The statement, mistranslated in German, came to acquire a twist it was never intended to have, and the twist was made worse in a re-translation of the German article into English by a correspondent of a London newspaper.

Some of the most fascinating pages of Mr. Ervine's book are those that supply full and uninhibited accounts of Shaw's relations with the women who came into his life at one time or another: Alice Lockett; Mrs. Annie Besant; Jenny Patterson; Mrs. Hubert Bland; May Morris; Grace Gilchrist; Geraldine Spooner; Florence Farr (Emery); Janet Achurch; E. Nesbit; Ellen Terry; Mrs. Patrick Campbell; and, last but not least, Charlotte Payne-Townshend, fellow-Fabian, to marry whom (*act. 41*) Shaw (*act. 42*) hobbled on crutches—he was nursing a bad foot at the time—into the Register Office in the District of the Strand in the County of London on June 1, 1898, accompanied by Henry Salt and that distinguished Fabian, Graham Wallas.

Alice Lockett, a pupil of Shaw's mother, then a music teacher in London, was his first love. That first passion was enough to draw out a poem from Shaw, reproduced in Mr. Ervine's book on p. 115 (did he ever write any other?). His letters to her (an extract is quoted on the same page) were rich in flashes of Shavian wit, much to that lady's discomfiture. About Florence Farr it is interesting to learn that she left England in 1912 to settle in 'a Vedantist seminary' in Ceylon, where she died in 1917. Of particular interest to Indian readers are the fourteen pages Mr. Ervine devotes to Mrs. Annie Besant—"this extraordinary woman", he calls her, "who combined great personal beauty with a strong will and unusual oratorical power." How she discovered this power of hers is a story by itself. Before she had broken with her clerical husband, the Rev. Frank Besant, she had gone into his church one afternoon to play on the organ. "As she was about to leave, she took a whim to enter the pulpit from which the vicar droned his dreary sermons. Suddenly, she heard herself declaiming to the empty pews, and was

astounded not only by the facility of her speech but by its eloquence. This was a Pentecost, indeed."

"A delightful exhibition of paper passion" is how Mr. Ervine describes the long correspondence between Shaw and Ellen Terry, a correspondence that went on for years without the correspondents ever meeting each other. He has a poignant reminiscence of one of their last meetings, "if it was not actually the last." Shaw was lecturing in London, and Ellen Terry, then old and almost blind, was present to hear him. "While he and I were talking, she came feeling her way to him, and I shall always remember the look of great and tender kindness that came into his eyes when he saw the old lady, one of the darlindest women that ever adorned a stage."

Charlotte Shaw comes out of Mr. Ervine's pages almost as alive as Shaw himself. Kind, amiable, and generous, she was an ardent reader and increasingly interested in religion as she grew older. In many respects she was the converse of Shaw. She was not musical, nor was she greatly interested in the theatre. She had a horror of publicity and a great aversion for the hero-worshippers who crowded round her husband wherever he went. Mr. Ervine has seen her withdraw from a group of people about to be photographed on realising that the picture would appear in the press, and she once told Mr. Ervine that she greatly loathed being gaped at wherever she and her husband went. "Once", writes Mr. Ervine, "with that witty understatement that was characteristic of her, she remarked to me, 'St. John, I think G. B. S. rather likes publicity!' Even in the matter of statement, they were at opposite poles: for he over-stated almost everything." We learn further that she was highly critical of her husband's work. Once she amazed Mr. Ervine by telling him how much she disliked *Heartbreak House*, which is regarded by many people as Shaw's best play. On another occasion he heard her exclaim after Shaw had described a piece he wanted to write, 'Well, I hope it'll be better than the thing you're writing now!'

Yet, with all these dissimilarities or perhaps because of them, and despite the strange compact she had made about the non-consummation of their marriage (a compact that Mr. Ervine is at pains to explain), they were deeply devoted to each other, and had achieved, as Mr. Ervine well says, what seemed to be perfect comradeship in which each subserves the other and still retains his or her individuality—a comradeship that was strong enough, incidentally, to stand Charlotte's anger at Shaw's relations with Mrs. Patrick Campbell. Once, when she saw a caricature of her husband by Max Beerbohm, she tore it to pieces in Beerbohm's presence. And Shaw once said to Mr. Ervine: 'If Charlotte were on her deathbed, I know an infallible way of restoring her health. I'd simply go to-bed and say I was dying!'

V

A goodly portion of Mr. Ervine's book is devoted to Shaw's writings, each one of which, including tracts and pamphlets, comes in for mention and discussion at its proper place in the life story. This is indeed the most comprehensive review of Shaw's writings that has appeared so far. Besides criticism, there is a good deal of incidental information, some of it of absorbing interest, and all of it of value for the student of Shaw, about circumstances of composition, stage history and all that, in each case. As a critic, Mr. Ervine does not let friendly or deferential considerations stand in the way of his assessment. Though an intimate of Shaw for more than forty years, nowhere in this book is his attitude that of a hero-worshipper; on the contrary, he freely criticizes both the man and the writer where, he thinks, criticism is called for. In assessing the writings he joins issue with Shaw on a good many points, nor does he stint appreciation where it is deserved. With the economic-political views and leanings of Shaw, however, he is entirely out of tune. His own are different, and they are of a rather uninspiring kind. The two extracts quoted below will show where he stands; the first of them will make Indian readers smile:

"We withdrew, almost precipitately, from India, with the immediate result that large numbers of Hindus and Moslems were slaughtered in the racial and religious riots which ensued. The people of India were wiser in the event than Mr. Attlee and his colleagues; for they took care to maintain a flexible form of association with the Commonwealth: a display of wisdom which was not shown by the Government of Eire."

"The world will be worse than it is if, as a result of a greatly extended Welfare State, the entire population degenerates into a crowd of Gimme, Gimme men and women with extended hands, none of whom has the slightest sense of personal responsibility... Socialism is much more than a system of feeding and housing the hungry and homeless: it is an elaborate scheme for the regulation of society; and G. B. S. does not tackle the problem of how people are to live in liberty and extensive regulation simultaneously."

Mr. Ervine's review of such works as *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism* and *Everybody's Political What's What* is coloured accordingly, and he does not spare Shaw for his lack of faith in parliamentary democracy. He has, however, the fairness and the sense of style to acknowledge that *The Intelligent Woman's Guide* is "a brilliant work".

Mr. Ervine is also critical of Shaw's 'metabiology', which he discusses at length, and there are shrewd points in his criticism, which gains by being frank and uninhibited with regard to the facts of life. One must thank him for publishing at the same time a letter written to him by Shaw in reply to his criticisms in *The Observer* of *Back to Methuselah*. An extract from it is well worth quoting: "My suggestion is that the passion of the body will finally become a passion of the mind. Already there is a pleasure in thought—creative thought.... There is no reaction, no disgust,

no love changed to hate.....Grasp this, and you will no longer talk to me as the boy talks to the Ancient."

Yet, though critical of the 'metabiology', Mr. Ervine is full of appreciation for *Man and Superman*, which he calls one of the three great English comedies written in the last sixty years—the other two being, in his opinion, Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest* (which, incidentally, Shaw failed to appreciate) and Somerset Maugham's *The Circle*. He draws attention to the remarkable craftsmanship of the play in that it is an organic whole even though the third act is a detachable philosophic interpolation which may be, and occasionally has been, performed by itself. After having characterised the play rather strikingly as "a freak of a play which is, nevertheless, normal in its shape", he goes on to add:

"This great comedy definitely marks a period in the history of the English theatre: the period in which philosophic thought in a large way was first dramatised. If G. B. S. had never written anything else than *Man and Superman*, his value to the theatre would still have been immense. For the first time in our history, an audience was found for the play of ideas.....Those critics who maintain that it is G. B. S.'s best play, have warrant for their belief. There had never been such a play on the stage before.....His comedy established authority unfailingly over the audience from curtain rise to curtain fall, and it possesses that singular power which is shown only by great plays, the power to fuse an audience so that it ceases to be a collection of dissimilar individuals and becomes a united group of men and women with a single interest. This power is exhibited in plays so different from each other in all other respects as *The Trojan Women* of Euripides, *Hamlet*, and *The Wild Duck*."

Mr. Ervine locates what he calls the focal point of Shaw's religion in the following passage in *Man and Superman*: 'This is the true joy of life, the being used for a purpose recognised by yourself as a mighty one: the being thoroughly worn out before you are thrown on the scrapheap⁸; the being a force of Nature instead of a feverish, selfish little clod of ailments complaining that the world will not devote itself to making you happy.'

As regards the other 'metabiology' play, *Back to Methuselah*, which he criticizes in detail, Mr. Ervine is unable to share Shaw's opinion that this was his best play. Calling it 'a monstrosity of a play', he says that it takes at least three nights to perform. When it was produced for the first time by the Theatre Guild of New York on February 27, 1922, William, the Negro doorman at the theatre, was asked by a Director of the Guild how the play was going. 'Fine', was the reply. 'Less and less people walk out every night'. The Guild lost \$ 20,000 on the production, and Lawrence Langner, one of the founders of the Guild, warily sounded Shaw about cuts. The latter was reputed to be 'ferocious'

⁸ This notion of 'being thrown on the scrapheap' comes in, however, for a good deal of criticism in the earlier *Some Impressions of My Elders*.

on the subject of cuts, but luckily for Langner Charlotte was present at the interview. Her quiet remarks "that were almost asides" swayed her husband as little else could, and Shaw not only consented to the cuts proposed by Langner but took out 'at least half as much again' as he had originally hoped for. Mr. Ervine wishes the play had been pruned further.

The interest and quality of Mr. Ervine's criticisms of Shaw's writings are apparent from the foregoing. The fine promise he showed as a critic of Shavian drama more than thirty years ago in *Some Impressions of My Elders*, is amply fulfilled in the present work. His notices of the plays of Shaw are, in most cases, marked by percipient criticism: e.g., that of *Major Barbara* or that of *Saint Joan*. The last-named instance is also illustrative of the interest of the incidental information Mr. Ervine supplies about the plays of Shaw. This is how *Saint Joan* came to be. Sir Sydney Cockerell, a friend of Shaw's and curator of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, had read T. Douglas Murray's *Jeanne d'Arc* and been struck by the dramatic possibilities of Joan's trial. He passed the book on to Shaw, who, however, did not show much interest in the matter. It was Charlotte who suggested that he should write a play about it, and she left books about Joan lying all about. From time to time Shaw would pick up one of these casually and look it over, until one day he suddenly exclaimed to Charlotte that he had lighted on a good idea for a play. 'What is it?' she asked. 'Jean of Arc', answered Shaw. 'How interesting!' remarked the quiet, wise woman.

It would appear from Mr. Ervine's book that this quiet, wise woman, "whose casual interjections in conversation were often the stimulant of great activity in her husband's mind", had more influence on the making of Shavian drama than we know or might guess, left to ourselves. Here is another instance in point. Granville-Barker had called to ask for a new play for the Court Theatre, and the conversation turned, from his casual mention of a doctor being treated for tuberculosis in a London hospital, to a general discussion on the trouble taken by medical men to preserve useless and even harmful lives. Charlotte recalled how Sir Almroth Wright, a famous bacteriologist, while examining a patient at a hospital, had been asked by an assistant if he could add another to the small number of people he could treat on his new 'opsonic system'. 'Is he worth it?' was Sir Almroth's reply. As soon as he had heard that, Shaw seized a notebook and started writing *The Doctor's Dilemma*!

To return to *Saint Joan*, we are further told by Mr. Ervine that Shaw's model for the girl saint was a middle-aged woman who managed Summer Schools for the Fabian Society: Mary Hankinson, sister-in-law of the novelist Francis Brett Young. 'Hanky', as her numerous friends called her, was a woman of unusual good sense, remarkable self-control and great personal charm. When the play was published, Shaw sent her a copy with this inscription: 'To Mary Hankinson, the only woman

I know who does not believe that she is the model for Joan and the only woman who actually was.'

Mr. Ervine reminds his readers time and again that a great many of Shaw's characters had living models. "It is sometimes charged against G. B. S.", he writes, "that his characters were all fictitious: that is to say, that they were whimsical conceptions rather than authentic people. The charge is false." Pointing out that his characters are all remarkable people and that the commonplace or routine man or woman did not interest him, Mr. Ervine adds that even his most unusual or extravagant characters were not in the slightest degree figments of his imagination but were solidly founded on fact, and he drew them with such skill that their acquaintances easily recognised them. Thus, Blanche Sartorius in *Widowers' Houses* and Julia Craven in *The Philanderer* are modelled on Jenny Patterson. Mrs. Clandon in *You Never Can Tell* is partly based on Shaw's mother. Cusins in *Major Barbara* is drawn from Gilbert Murray. Sir Colenso Ridgeon and Louis Dubedat in *The Doctor's Dilemma* are drawn respectively from Sir Almroth Wright ("renowned for his researches into pathological parasites and his work on vaccines and toxins") and Dr. Edward Aveling (a socialist well known to the early Fabians and a lover of Eleanor, Karl Marx's daughter, whom he subsequently deserted). There is also a little of Aubrey Beardsley in Louis Dubedat. David Anderson, the minister in *The Devil's Disciple*, derives his name from one of the junior masters in the last school Shaw attended in Dublin (The Dublin English Scientific and Commercial Day School). When Ellen Terry doubted if Lady Cicely Waynflete in *Captain Brassbound's Conversion* was a credible character, Shaw reminded her at once of Mary Kingsley, niece of Charles Kingsley. Burgess in *Candida*, Shaw once wrote to Mr. Ervine, 'is studied closely from a well-known and long deceased Oxford character' (this, however, Mr. Ervine, who regards Burgess as an unconvincing figure, is inclined to dismiss as an after-thought).

Even episodes and settings in the plays are sometimes borrowed from life. The ship-shaped house in *Heartbreak House* is based on one built by the father of Lena Ashwell (Lady Simson), the distinguished actress who was one of Charlotte's closest friends. The Arab robes worn by Hector Hushabye in the evening were borrowed from Wilfred Scawen Blunt, the poet who was killed in the first Great War. The scene in the sweaters' cellar in *the Millionairess* is drawn from an episode in Beatrice Webb's life. There is a scene in the *The Apple Cart* where King Magnus, eager to keep an appointment with his queen, is tumbled on the floor by his mistress, Orinthia, who seeks to detain him. Mr. Ervine had noted that the scene was remarkably like one in *The Irrational Knot*, and there was surprise in store for him when Shaw told him while lunching with him and the composer, Sir Edward Elgar, immediately before the first performance of

the play at Malvern, that the incident had occurred in Mrs. Patrick Campbell's house as she was struggling to keep him back from an appointment with Charlotte. The words used by Candida when she rejects Marchbanks are similar to those spoken by Shaw's sister, Lucy, when she rejected McNulty. She refused him because she was his senior by five years; when he was forty-five, still active and brisk, she would be, she said, a white-haired old lady of fifty. The opening scene of *Pygmalion*, under the portico of St. Paul's Church in Covent Garden on a wet and windy night, was suggested by an incident of which Shaw was a witness and which is described in his *Music in London, 1890-94* (Vol. III, p. 142). Blanche half-throttling her maid in a violent rage, in *Widowers' Houses*, is based on what he saw of a night while walking down Mandeville Place—"a virago seizing her cowering and devoted companion by the hair and almost haul her head off."

Enough attention has not been given, Mr. Ervine thinks, to Shaw's technical skill as a dramatist. Mr. Ervine has been playwright and producer himself, and is the author of at least one notable contribution to twentieth-century British drama, viz. *Mixed Marriage*, which Shaw once declared to be almost as good as a play of his. What he says about the craftsmanship of Shaw's plays should, therefore, command attention, and no apology is needed for reproducing the following extracts:

"Critics have applauded his dialogue, his wit and audacious thought, but few of them have applauded his immense ability in constructing his plays. He uses every available device to make his pills palatable. The settings are unusual and sometimes fantastic. The stage is filled with colour. Where the argument is severe, he lightens it in a variety of ways that take the strain off the playgoer's attention."

"The general legend that G. B. S. made a virtue of his incapacity to write a well-made play by treating good construction as if it were not only unimportant but a sign of inferior mind, was false. No man who admired Ibsen could possibly have held the view that ill-made plays were superior to those that were well-made. G. B. S., in fact, could shape a play as well as anybody."

Mr. Ervine instances *Candida* and *Mrs. Warren's Profession* as two good specimens of Shaw's technical skill. In *Some Impressions of My Elders* he noted a decline in that skill beginning with *Heartbreak House* and *Back to Methuselah*, plays where garrulity spoils his effects.

While talking of Shaw's technical skill, Mr. Ervine is critical enough to observe that he was wont, unfortunately, "to clutter his work with useless addenda" and that he "never knew when to leave off or let well alone." He instances *The Doctor's Dilemma* which, but for its fifth act, "the nearest thing to irrelevant verbiage that its author ever wrote", might have been regarded as Shaw's most skilfully constructed drama, "without a waste word in it". This might well lead many to ask what Mr. Ervine thinks of the much-controverted Epilogue to *St. Joan*. He is with those who think that it should have been cut. "The natural end of the play is the concluding speech made by Warwick at the end of the sixth scene when,

in reply to the Executioner's remark, 'You have heard the last of her', Warwick, with a wry smile, retorts, 'The last of her? Hm! I wonder!' There is no need to add another word." Yet Mr. Ervine is not absolutely sure. He cannot deny that the Epilogue is moving to read and contains noble writing and many passages and sentences of lovely wisdom, "The spirit is stirred and the heart deeply touched when Joan, as the midnight bell begins to toll and she is left alone in a white radiance, cries out, 'O God that madest this beautiful earth, when will it be ready to receive Thy saints? How long, O Lord. how long?' It is conceivable that in this matter, G. B. S. is right, and that all the rest of us are wrong."

A rather disconcerting feature of Shavian drama is what Mr. Ervine calls a "large element of slapstick." We learn from him that Shaw was prone to unseasonable indulgence in slapstick in his personal relations too. The proneness, however, was greater in his plays than in his personal habits. He himself was conscious of this failing of his and once told the students at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art that the Joey in him was always popping out when he was least wanted. Mr. Ervine comments that in the plays he wrote after *Saint Joan* Joey had greater possession of him than ever before.

To questions why Shaw makes a character behave like this or that Mr. Ervine returns a good answer, which, moreover, is a playwright's answer:

"How idle it is to enquire why a dramatist makes a character do this or that! He may not know. Why should we expect an author to understand why his creatures behave as they do when parents are bewildered by the acts of their children? If the people in a play have any life in them, they take possession of themselves and disobey their author when the fit seizes them; and an author realizes that his people have come to life only when he feels them tugging at his reins in their efforts to gain release from his control."

These considerations, however, do not entirely prevent Mr. Ervine from asking such questions about the characters of Shaw; nor, for that matter, did they prevent him from asking them about those of Galsworthy when discussing his plays in *Some Impressions of My Elders*.

Some of Mr. Ervine's incidental remarks about individual plays of Shaw are too good to pass over. *Mrs. Warren's Profession*, he claims, is "as moral as Savonarola" though a hard, almost bitter, play, and it is the first play in which the modern independent-minded woman appears in the person of Vivie. *Caesar and Cleopatra* he describes as the first play written by Shaw "on the grand scale", and, comparing his Caesar with Shakespeare's, he remarks that the latter might have been a successful importer of bananas, while the former is a genius whose every speech has the sound of genius. *Man and Superman*, he says, had the singular effect of impressing men and infuriating women. The 'disquisitory plays', we are told, broadcast so well that one feels that Shaw had foreseen broadcasting

and written them for that medium. One of them, *Misalliance*, which did not have much success on the stage, was highly successful when televised in 1954. *Heartbreak House*, too, failed on the stage, but Mr. Ervine prophesies that it will in due time rise from its dust and ashes as *The Cherry Orchard* and *The Seagull* rose and will be acclaimed for the noble work it is. Speaking of *Pygmalion*, he points out how that 'phonetics' play took the shock out of a certain word previously considered shocking. Somewhere in the play Eliza Doolittle (personated by Mrs. Patrick Campbell at its first performance in England on April 11, 1914) is made to say 'Walk! Not bloody likely!' There was much speculation as to what would happen when Mrs. Campbell would utter the awful word or whether she would utter it at all. Mrs. Campbell did utter it—there was a great gasp, followed in a few moments by an extraordinary roar of laughter; then a brief silence, succeeded by another peal of laughter louder and heartier than the first. "G. B. S. had taken the colour and vigour out of the word *bloody* by making it a term no more awful than *dash* or *bother*. Today, genteel girls use it without turning a hair or suffering any rebuke."

Two plays of Shaw came under the ban: *Mrs. Warren's Profession* and *The Shewing-Up of Blanco Posnet*. As for the former, Mr. Ervine points out that a situation similar to the one for which the play was banned, occurs in T.S. Eliot's *A Confidential Clerk*, where it is more elaborately described and is more important in the general scheme of the play. "It is a pleasing thought," he adds, "that G. B. S. prepared the way for Mr. Eliot." *The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet* was banned because of certain words about God spoken by Blanco, which "profoundly shocked" the Reader of Plays in the office of the Lord Chamberlain. Yeats and Lady Gregory immediately offered Shaw the hospitality of the Abbey Theatre¹ in Dublin, of which they were the Directors. A host of London critics, who had no idea exactly why the play had been banned, were lured across the Irish Sea by the prospect of witnessing something very shocking. "Their disappointment when they found themselves witnessing the performance of a religious tract was deep; and some of them expressed their disappointment by attacking, not the Reader of Plays, but the author."

On p. 228 of his book Mr. Ervine sums up Shaw in one effective sentence: "he had a brilliantly flashing wit shot through with uncommon sense that sometimes turned into high moral fervour and became genius." There will be general agreement with what he says about Shaw's services to the drama and the theatre:

¹ One of the many things we unlearn on reading Mr. Ervine's work is that the Abbey Theatre was founded and maintained, as popularly believed, by Lady Gregory. It owed itself, so Mr. Ervine informs us, to the munificence of Miss Horniman, mentioned in Section II of this review article. As for Lady Gregory, "she never gave a farthing to it, but, quite legitimately, took many pounds from it." Having been closely associated with the Abbey Theatre for a time as playwright and manager, Mr. Ervine ought to know.

"The entire character of the drama was transformed after G. B. S. Even Ibsen was not so influential in changing it. The historian of the theatre will be compelled to acknowledge very handsomely the debt the theatre in the first half of the twentieth century owed him. It was he, beyond shadow of a doubt, who created an intelligent audience for intelligent plays and educated actors and actresses who could perform in them."

As for the oft-asked question whether the plays of Shaw will last, Mr. Ervine is emphatic (just as he was in the earlier work, *Some Impressions of My Elders*) that they will. He sticks to this belief even after noting that *Mrs. Warren's Profession*, when it was publicly performed for the first time, after the ban had been lifted, on September 28, 1925, thirty-two years after it had been written, seemed to be dated and remarkably mild.¹ "The crowd had not only caught up with the pioneer, but had passed him." Nevertheless, Mr. Ervine is sure—and his long work closes on this radiant assertion—that "somewhere in the corridors of time," Shaw's "flame will still burn brightly and steadily".

Quite an important feature of Mr. Ervine's book is the attention it pays to Shaw's tracts and pamphlets. Few critics of Shaw have treated them in such detail as Mr. Ervine. Not one of them is left unmentioned or unconsidered, and the reader comes to learn a lot about them from Mr. Ervine. To one of them he devotes considerable attention. This, *Fabianism and the Empire*, is, however, not generally known to have been written by Shaw. Published by the Fabian Society, it was described as 'edited by Bernard Shaw,' who, in a preface, tries to convince his readers that he was no more than an editor. Mr. Ervine produces evidence, including extracts from an unpublished letter of Shaw's, to show that it was really his own work.

Mr. Ervine has some rather good things to say about Shaw's prose style. He informs his readers that Shaw may be said to have modelled his style to some extent on Henry George's, and reminds them that "the making of his noble prose was the hard labour he performed in the nine years of servitude he endured after his arrival in London," and that "it was wrought in a loveless home in circumstances of considerable distress." While admiring the various qualities of Shaw's fine prose, he points out at the same time that it has very little verbal beauty:

"There were mental beauty and moral grandeur, but no felicitous phrases. His addiction to adjectives was worse than an alcoholic's addiction to drink; and it sometimes made him seem hysterical A thick anthology of lovely lines can be made from Shakespeare's plays, but a compiler would be hard put to it to

¹ Sir Winston Churchill, however, records an opposite impression in his *Great Contemporaries*. Writing in 1937, he says that he lately took his children to *Major Barbara*, twenty years after he had seen it—twenty terrific years during which the landmarks of centuries had been swept away and almost every human institution had undergone decisive change. Yet in *Major Barbara* 'there was not a character requiring to be re-drawn, not a sentence nor a suggestion that was out of date'. His children were astounded to learn that a play that seemed to them 'the very acme of modernity' had been written more than five years before they were born.

make a smaller volume of lovely lines from G.B.S. though a large anthology of lofty and moving words could be made with ease. His prose is swift and tightly packed, almost too swift, too tightly packed. It outruns the reader . . . but it has grandeur and nobility, brilliance and wit, and high, sustained thought. Shakespeare's lines seem to fall from his lips without any effort by him, but Shaw's lines are carefully and deliberately made. There are profuse strains in his work, too profuse at times, but few that are unpremeditated art."

This part of this review-article may well close with a reference to some rather interesting reactions to Shaw's writings mentioned by Mr. Ervine. *John Bull's Other Island* was written at Yeats's request for the Abbey Theatre, and was turned down. Yeats confessed to Mr. Ervine that he could not make head or tail of the play when he read it!¹ ("Irishmen," Mr. Ervine tells us incidentally, "are not fond of each other, as Dr. Johnson very well knew when he remarked that the Irish are a fair-minded people: 'they never speak well of each other'. Wilde, Shaw, Yeats and George Moore were incompatible. They seldom met, and disliked each other's work.") One knows little about the reactions of royalty to Shaw's plays, and is therefore intrigued to learn that, while ex-Kaiser Wilhelm II admired *The Apple Cart* ('A great play by the greatest of living satirists. What genius and what humour!'), King Edward VII, who went to see *Arms and the Man* at a revival at the Savoy, enjoyed its wit but was offended by its satire on soldiers and left the theatre muttering 'Of course, the fellow is a damned crank!' ² Among people upset by *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God* were, of all persons, at least two members of the County Wexford Bee-Keepers' Association, a body of which Shaw was, unaccountably enough, a life-member. At a meeting of this Association on December 29, 1932, one Dr. Greene solemnly proposed that 'the name of Mr. George Bernard Shaw' be removed from the list of members on account of his 'blasphemous statements concerning Christ and His Apostles' in the book. He was supported by a Mr. MacDonald who did not wish to be associated with an infidel. The proposal was held over till the Annual Meeting of the Association in the following January, at which the Chairman remarked that he 'did not pretend to be able to fathom one of the greatest minds of our time', and the other members refused to hear Dr. Greene speak on the motion. The worthy doctor at once resigned membership of a body which, he said, seemed to prefer Bernard Shaw to Jesus Christ, and walked out in a huff.

VI

Mr. Ervine has written a long work of 600 pages, but there is not a dull moment in his book except where he is airing his econo-political

¹ It was in *Some Impressions of My Elders* that Mr. Ervine first supplied this information. It is repeated in the present work.

² See, however, Section II for his reaction to *John Bull's Other Island*.

views. He has a tart wit that enlivens all that he writes. This was only to be expected of the author of *Some Impressions of My Elders*. The fine aptitude he shows in the present work for summing up an individual in a deft phrase or sentence, is also foreshadowed in the earlier one, where, for instance, he characterises James Joyce as "Rabelais after a nervous breakdown" and Bernard Shaw as "John the Baptist pretending to be Karl Marx". His tilts at men and things in the present work are enjoyable to a degree, however unpalatable they might be to certain people. This is how he compliments his own nation: "Almost entirely Irish in origin, with only enough English blood in her veins to preserve her sanity, she (Mrs. Annie Besant) had a mixed ancestry." He does not spare the English either: "The English, having little charm themselves, overestimate the value of this delusive quality, forgetting that it is the hallmark of the crook who, were he without charm of some sort, could scarcely earn a living." And here is one for the French: "The world has lived for several centuries in the delusion that French civilisation is supreme over all other civilisations, and no people are more deceived by this belief than the French themselves." The Americans, too, have their share. Somewhere in his book Mr. Ervine has occasion to speak of the Fellowship of the New Life founded in the eighties by Thomas Davidson, a Scot who had been to the United States and returned to Great Britain in 1881. The aim of the Fellowship was to lead a simple, strenuous, intellectual life, communistically, if possible, on a basis of 'natural religion', and to cultivate 'a perfect character in each and all' ('an achievement', comments Mr. Ervine, "which has so far baffled & defeated the Almighty"). The members continued to meet for fifteen years, "without any perceptible increase in their own or anybody else's nobility"; and then the movement petered out. "Davidson returned to the United States where, it seems, the supply of high-minded people is higher than in the United Kingdom or the number of primitive people is so large that any addition to it is unlikely to be noticed."

American publishers, we are told, had "disdained" the novels of Shaw, though they might have been expected to be more enterprising than their English colleagues. But "they were soon to make up for this disdain by publishing them almost lavishly, without, however, remembering to reward their author". The Americans and spelling reform both have it in: "Just what an American does with the time he saves by omitting the *w* from *slow* is not apparent to him or anybody else." The supreme fault of eloquent people, Mr. Ervine tells us, is that "they vainly imagine that eloquence and mind are identical," and the difference between producers and business managers is that the former "have no conscience" while that latter "must possess enough of what they call conscience to serve for two". As for individuals, all manner of them receive a rap on the knuckles in the course of the book, ranging from George Clibborn,

cloth merchant and partner of Shaw's father in a corn-mill (who "wisely married a wealthy woman, and retired from all trade, wholesale or retail, living like a gentleman on his wife's income") to Karl Marx (who, when he heard of the death of the Ulster girl whom Engels loved, "wrote a perfunctory note of regret, and then filled sheets with wails about his need of money: an illuminating example of his appalling and shameless egotism", and who "has more followers who have never read a line he wrote than any other revolutionary in the whole history of social change") and T. S. Eliot ("whose manner becomes more and more apostolic").

As is only to be expected, Mr. Ervine's book is rich in delightful anecdotes. Two of them, taken at random from what is once more an *embarras de richesse*, will bear re-telling. The first relates to the first performance of *Arms and the Man*, and is best told in Mr. Ervine's words. "The author took a curtain call and was received with cheers. When they had subsided, and before G. B. S. could utter a syllable, a solitary hiss was heard in the gallery. It was made by R. Goulding Bright, who was afterwards a very successful literary agent, and it was made, as he told me, under a misapprehension. He thought that G. B. S., in his satire on florid Balkan soldiers, was reflecting on the British Army. G. B. S. bowed to him, and remarked, 'I quite agree with you, sir, but what can two do against so many?' This, incidentally, is the correct version of an oft-repeated first-night anecdote, which has grown the usual crop of variations. One of these, "garnished...with rich and glowing details", was put out by Dr. C. E. M. Joad, "who", says Mr. Ervine, "was not a bigot about truth".

The second relates to Shaw's South African tour in 1932. He met General Smuts at a luncheon party given by the novelist, Mrs. Sarah Gertrude Millinn. The ensuing conversation flopped because of Shaw's choice of the wrong Lawrence for a subject. Smuts talked of guerilla warfare, a cue that might well have led on to T. E., whom both knew. Instead, Shaw veered off to D. H., of whom Smuts had scarcely heard. "Every school girl of sixteen should read *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, said G. B. S. oracularly, and Smuts, wondering what this work was, politely murmured, 'Of course, of course!'

A valuable feature of the book under review is the use it makes of unpublished letters, including those written by Shaw to Mr. and Mrs. Ervine, and his unpublished diaries. One of the unpublished letters quoted by the author contains a statement of Shaw's aesthetic creed striking enough to call for reproduction:

'I have not often formulated the lessons of my apprenticeship as a writer; but I did once write down in a notebook something like this: You cannot be an artist until you have contracted yourself within the limits of your art¹³. Now, the effect the artist produces on others is that of unlimitedness; and it is this great mystery and

¹³ This sentence is written in the letter in capitals.

infinitude which attracts us all to art at first in these days. But when you get to practice an art, you find that the unlimited length before you is of exactly the same nature as the unlimited length before a horse in a circus . . .

'I have my feeling for the exquisitely cultivated sense of beauty—an almost devotional sense—and the great pains and skill of execution which produces work of one kind, and for the bold ideas, the daring unscrupulous handling, the imaginative illusions that produce another kind. And I have a leaning towards the former that you don't sympathise with . . . I prefer a woman knitting to Ajax fighting the sheep, because I know that although very little will come of the knitting, nothing will come of the fighting. So do you, in acting, because you know all about the histrionic Ajax; but in literature you still have a notion that there is a future for Ajax, and that I am opposing my limitations to his infinity.

'I assure you he can't get out of the ring any more than I can

' . . . in art . . . you must plod away diligently in the station of life to which your vocation has called you, making the work always as good as you can, turning methodically from the fine sentence of which you have corrected the grammar to the punctuation of the next, like the ant or the bee or the good boy, or any other disgusting character in books for the edification of youth . . .

'I want a revival of the art of beautiful acting; and I know it to be impossible without tremendous practice and constant aiming at beauty of execution, not through a mechanical study of poses and pronunciations (though every actor should be a plastic and phonetic expert), but through a cultivation of delicate feeling and absolute renunciation of all the coarser elements of popularity. And I must lay my plays out for that.

'You have no idea, I believe, of the limitations under which I write, and constant search for the right sort of distinction, whether of style or thought or humor or vulgarity—how very nicely I have to ascertain the truth in order that I may find the true error with such precision as to make it appear that it was the first thing that came into the head of the character into whose mouth I put it. Of course, that is no more than my business; and you are quite right to take it for granted, and proceed to grumble at what I have *not* done; but it is none the less indispensable . . .

' . . . Also, I will let emotion and passion have all the play I can in my characters. But you must recollect that there is a distinction even in emotion and passion; and that the finer kinds will not run through the well worn channels of speech. They may make new intellectual speech channels; and for some time these will necessarily appear so strange and artificial that it will be supposed that they are incapable of conveying emotion. They said for many years, remember, that Wagner's endless melody was nothing but discord.'

This was written on March 1, 1895, to the actor Charles Charrington (Martin), and Mr. Ervine owes it to the courtesy of his friend, Mr. Ashley Dukes, the well-known playwright, producer and dramatic critic. Of Shaw's correspondence Mr. Ervine writes in his preface that it alone would fill many volumes, and the task of editing it will not be enviable. "But when it is accomplished readers will be amazed by the care and trouble he spent on the least of his letters; which was not surpassed by the care and trouble he took over his major works. There must be, scattered about the world, thousands of letters and postcards, many of them in his handwriting, which are full of wit and wisdom. The man who undertakes the task of collecting them will have to dedicate his life

to it." The publication of the complete correspondence of Shaw, if ever it comes about, will undoubtedly be a major literary event.

The diaries referred to were kept by Shaw between 1872 and 1884, and again between 1884 and 1897 (the entries for 1892 are unfortunately missing). To judge by the extracts, quoted by Mr. Ervine, they contain important material and call for careful editing and publication.

Added value is given to the book by a number of rare photographs of extraordinary interest. A detailed index of 28 closely printed pages has definitely enhanced its usefulness for the student of Shaw. It is well printed and got up, but, unfortunately, not altogether free from misprints.

TARAKNATH SEN

Ourselfes

UNIVERSITY LECTURE

Dr. Julius Katz-Suchy, Ambassador of Poland, delivered a lecture on "One Thousand years of Poland's History" on the 28th November, 1958, in the Darbhanga Hall of the University. Professor N. K. Sidhanta, M.A. (Cantab.), LL.D. (Toronto), Vice-Chancellor of the University presided over the lecture.

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STUDENTS AND POLITICS

A member of the University Senate intends to move at the next meeting of the Senate the following resolutions :—

"That the Senate request the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate to convene a conference of the representatives of Jadavpur and Visva-Bharati Universities, leaders of all political parties in West Bengal, representatives of the Board of Secondary Education, Principals' Council, Head Masters' Association, W.B.C.U.T.A., A.B.T.A., W.B.T.A., and important public men in West Bengal to devise ways and means for keeping students away from practical politics, and to evolve a gentleman's agreement to prevent students from being used for political ends."



Notifications

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR. 21/58

In clarification of Notification No. CSR 1/58 dated 15th January, 1958 it is notified for general information that option will be given to candidates to write out their answers for the B.L.B. Examinations according to the old syllabi (in cases of those who have attended a regular course of lectures in the subjects prescribed thereunder) or according to the new syllabi (in the cases of those who have attended a regular course of lectures in the subjects prescribed and enforced under the new regulations).

This rule shall not be applicable in the cases of women (private) non-collegiate students, when they are granted permission to appear at an examination.

Senate House,
The 2nd December, 1958.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No 8/58

It is notified for general information that the following changes in Chapter XXXI of the Regulations relating to Intermediate Examination in Arts were adopted by the Academic Council on 12th December, 1957 and accepted by the Senate on 21st July, 1958 :—

“The following paragraph be added at the end of para. 4 under the head Vernaculars (p. 38) just above Additional paper in Alternative Vernacular Language.

5. Marks in Bengali for candidates whose normal speech is a language not approved by the University be distributed as follows :—

Question on the subject matter of the Text	... 30 marks
Grammar	... 10 „
Translation from English into language	... 20 „
Composition (including substance, construction of sentences, Appropriate uses of words, phrases and idioms, letter writing)	... 40 „

The changes will take effect from the I.A. Examination of 1961.

Senate House,
The 24th September, 1958.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/9/58

It is notified for general information that the following changes in Chapters XXXI and XXXV of the Regulations relating to I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations respectively were adopted by the Academic Council on 8th March, 1958, and accepted by the Senate on 21st July, 1958 :—

“The following proviso be added at the end of rule 7(2) of Chapters XXXI (page 35) and XXXV (page 164) of the Regulations :—

‘Provided that a candidate whose normal speech is a language included in the above list but who has had no opportunity to learn the language shall have, for reasons considered sufficient by the Syndicate, an Alternative Paper of a somewhat advanced character in English’.

The changes will take effect from the I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations in 1959.

Senate House,
The 24th September, 1958.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/15/58

It is notified for general information that the following changes in Chapter XLIV of the Regulations relating to the 1st M.B.B.S. Examination were adopted by the Academic Council on 8th March, 1958 and accepted by the Senate at their meeting held on 21st July, 1958 :—

"That in the syllabus for the First M.B.B.S. Examination under the heading (1) Organic and Physical Chemistry (page 7) the following be inserted after 'Cyanides and Ferro-cyanides' in line 12 :—

'Urea, Ureides (Barbituric acid)'.

The changes will take immediate effect.

Senate House,
The 24th September, 1958,

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/16/58

It is notified for general information that the following changes in Chapter XXXVIII of the Regulations relating to the Degree of Doctor of Science were adopted by the Academic Council at their meeting held on 23rd May, 1958 and accepted by the Senate on 21st July, 1958 :—

"That the words 'or in Medicine' be inserted after the words "Doctor of Philosophy (D.Phil.) in Science" occurring in line 2, Para. 2 of the rule I and in line 3, Para. 2 of rule 4 of Chapter XXXVIII of the Regulations. (pp. 352-353)."

The changes will take immediate effect.

Senate House,
The 24th September, 1958.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No. CSR/17/58

It is notified for general information that the following changes in Chapter XL of the Regulations relating to the B.T. Examination were adopted by the Academic Council at their meeting held on 21st March, 1958 and accepted by the Senate on 21st July, 1958 :—

"The words "or served as a Teacher in a recognised school for at least seven years" at the end of rule 3(a) in Chapter XL of the Regulations (p. 366) be deleted."

The changes will take effect from the B.T. Examination of 1960.

Senate House,
The 21st September, 1958.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification
No. CSR/18/58

It is notified for general information that the following changes in Chapter XXXVII-A of the Regulations relating to the M.Sc. (Tech.) Examination were adopted by the Academic Council at their meeting held on 23rd May, 1958 and accepted by the Senate on 21st July, 1958 :—

That paragraph 3 of rule 1 of Chapter XXXVII-A of the Regulations be replaced by the following :—

"Any candidate who has passed the M.Sc. Examination in Applied Physics or Applied Chemistry or Radio Physics and Electronics may be admitted to the Part II Examination for the degree of Master of Science (Technology) in the same subject provided he has prosecuted a regular Course of Study for one academic year in the 3rd-year Class. On his passing this examination, he will be awarded the M.Sc. (Tech.) degree without a class. Provided that candidates who previous to the passing of this amendment to the Regulations passed the M.Sc. Examination in Applied Physics or Applied Chemistry or Radio Physics and Electronics and have been awarded the certificate of passing will also be entitled to the degree of M.Sc. (Tech.) without any class".

The changes will take immediate effect.

Senate House,
The 24th September, 1958.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notification No CSR/20/58

It is notified for general information that the following subjects have been included in the list of subjects for the D.Phil. (Medical) degree by the Academic Council dated the 18th September, 1958.

- (1) Experimental Surgery.
- (2) Tuberculosis.

Senate House,
The 3rd October, 1958.

D. CHAKRAVARTI,
Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF RAJASTHAN

The undermentioned candidates were found using unfair means while appearing in the University examinations of 1958. Their present examination has, therefore, been cancelled, and they have further been debarred from appearing at any examination of the University to be held in the year noted against each.

S. No.	Roll No.	Enrolment No.	Examination.	Name of the Candidate.	College (Place of residence in case of non-collegiate candidates).	Year for which debarred.
1.	69	57/1014 (Agra Scheme).	M.A. (F)	Magan Raj Kumbaat.	S. D. Govt. College, Beawar.	1959
2.	84	57/1772 (Agra Scheme) (Pt. I).	B.A.	Prit Singh.	Govt. College, Ajmer.	1959
3.	392	52/2276	B.A.	Krishan Kumar Singh.	Dungar College, Bikaner.	1959
4.	605	53/2424	B.A.	Pratap Singh.	Lohia College, Churu.	1959
5.	818	53/2352	B.A.	Har Dayal Singh.	Maharaja's College, Jaipur.	1959
6.	2077	54/3263	B.A.	Tej Mal Mantri.	Govt. College, Kota.	1959
7.	2128	57/532	B.A.	Birdhi Lal Varma.	Kota.	1959
8.	176	57/2202	B.Com. (Previous).	Suraj Karan Mehta.	S. D. Govt. College, Beawar.	1959

Jaipur,
August 20, 1959.

K. L. Varma,
Registrar,
University of Rajasthan,
Jaipur.

UNIVERSITY OF PATNA

The undermentioned candidates are debarred from appearing at any University examination for the period noted against their names as they were found guilty for using unfair means at the Annual Intermediate in Arts, Science; Bachelor of Arts, Science; Law Part II and Bachelor of Commerce Examinations of 1958.

Sl. No.	Centre.	Roll No. & Examination.	Registration No. and College.	Candidate's Name.	Period of punishment.
1.	Science College, Patna.	Roll Pat. 329 I Sc.	2732-55 Science College, Patna	Shardandan Singh.	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1960.
2.	Do.	Roll Pat. No. 248 I.Sc.	3294-56 Science College, Patna	Anhoke Kumar Verma.	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination, 1960.
3.	B. N. College, Patna.	Roll Pat. No. 196 I.A.	2542-56 B. N. College, Patna.	Ram Babu Prasad.	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to Annual Examination of 1960.

4.	Tri-Chandra College, Kathmandu Nepal.	Roll Nep. No. 25, I.A.	140 58 Tri-Chandra College, Nepal.	Indra Bahadur Singh.	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1960.
5.	Do.	Roll. Nep. No. 56 I.A.	131-58, Tri-Chandra College, Kathmandu, Nepal.	Syed Anwar Shah.	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Supplementary Examination of 1959.
6.	Do.	Roll Nep. No. 16 B.A.	1509-52 Tri-Chandra College, Kathmandu, Nepal.	Balaka Raja Amatya.	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Supplementary Examination of 1959.
7.	Patna College, Patna.	Roll Pat. No. 39 B.Com.	229 55 B Com. Classes, Patna College.	Md. Ainutten-beed.	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Suppl. examination of 1959.
8.	B. N. College, Patna.	Roll Pat. No. 522(H) B.A.	1274-53 B. N. College, Patna.	Prem Kumar Sinha.	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Suppl. Examination of 1959.
9.	Science College, Patna.	Roll Pat. No. 70 B.Sc.	1282-54 Science College, Patna.	Jagdish Nivas	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Annual Examination of 1960.
10.	Law College, Patna.	Roll Pat. No. 57 B.L. Part II.	1860-55 Law College, Patna.	Jaswant Singh.	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Law Part II Examination of August, 1959.
11.	Do.	Roll Pat. No. 58 B.L. Part II.	4044-49 Law College, Patna.	Jawahar Lal	Debarred from appearing at any University Examination prior to the Law Part II Examination of August, 1959.

Patna University,
The 2nd September, 1958.

S. Y. HUSSEIN,
Deputy Registrar.

PANJAB UNIVERSITY, CHANDIGARH

No. 14541-14720/58G

Dated August 8, 1958.

I am to inform you that the Principal, Government Medical College, Patiala, *vide* his letters Nos. 87 and 88, dated 14th July, 1958 has rusticated for one academic year, the following students with effect from 2nd July, 1958, for the reasons mentioned against their names (Regs. 4 and 5) Panjab University Calendar 1957-58, Vol. III, page 136 :—

Sl. No.	Name and the Regd. No. of the students.	Father's Name,	Class.	Reasons for Rustication.
1.	Surender Nath Wadhawa. (48-dcf-473).	Shri Siri Ram Wadhawa.	IV Year M.B.B.S.	Gross Misconduct.
2.	Ajay Pal Kaur (57-mp-27).	Shri Gurdial Singh.	2nd Year M.B.B.S.	Do.

K. L. Mukherjee
Assistant Registrar (Cdn.),
For Registrar.

PANJAB UNIVERSITY (CHANDIGARH)

Notification

It is notified that—

I. The following persons have been disqualified as noted against their names :—
(i) Sarup Singh S/o. Shri Mansa Ram, Roll No. 55656, Matriculation Examination, 1958, who got himself impersonated by the person mentioned in (ii) below, has been disqualified for four years i.e., 1958, 1959, 1960 and 1961.

(ii) Man Singh S/o. Shri Surja Ram, Village and Post Office Kharar Alipur, Dist Hissar (Roll No. 99897, Matriculation Examination, 1957, who impersonated the candidate mentioned in (i) above has been declared as not a fit and proper person to be admitted to any future examination of this University.

(iii) Harbans Rai S/o. Shri Basant Rai Barchal, who tampered with the Matriculation Certificate of an other person and made a false statement of having passed the said examination from the Panjab University, Lahore, in 1938, under Roll No. 11663, has been declared as not a fit and proper person to be admitted to any future examination of this University.

(iv) Rama Nand Bageshwar S/o. Shri Rati Ram Bageshwar, teacher D.A.V. Higher Secondary School, Jang Pura (Bhagal), New Delhi, who tried to obtain a duplicate copy of the Matriculation Certificate on the basis of false statement of having passed the said examination from the Panjab University, Lahore, in 1926, under Roll No. 16593 has been declared as not a fit and proper person to be admitted to any future examination of this University.

(v) Pooran Singh Verma C/o. Bikour Ice Kandey, Pachewar Ka Rasta, Ram Ganj Bazar, Jaipur, (Roll No. 683, Matriculation Examination, 1946), who tampered with his duplicate Matriculation certificate and changed his date of birth, has been declared as not a fit and proper person to be admitted to any future examination of this University.

(vi) Shri Narain Dass S/o. Shri Munshi Ram, Village Tappa, P. O. Naiwan, Tehsil Garh Shankar, Dist. Hoshiarpur, who tried to obtain a duplicate copy of the Matriculation Certificate on the basis of false and forged evidence of having passed the said examination from the Panjab University, Lahore, in 1943, under Roll No. 19425, has been declared as not a fit and proper person to be admitted to any future examination of this University.

(vii) Balwant Singh S/o. Shri Nand Singh, Line Superintendent, M. C. Power House, Amritsar, Roll No. 32725, Matriculation Examination, 1953, who tried to get his date of birth corrected by fraudulent means, has been declared as not a fit and proper person to be admitted to any future examination of this University.

II. The results of the following candidates have been quashed under Regulation (viii) 1, at page 85 of the Calendar Part I, 1957 :—

(i) Manjit Kaur Bains D/o. S. Harkishan Dyal Singh Bains, Roll No. 140495, Matriculation Examination held in March, 1958. The candidate had actually failed in the examination.

(ii) Om Parkash S/o. Shri Babu Ram, Roll No. 20, Diploma in Pharmacy and Dressers' Course (Preliminary) Examination held in June, 1957. The candidate had actually failed in the examination.

(iii) Brij Mohan Lal S/o Shri Ram Lal, Roll No. 5863, Prabhakar Examination held in November, 1957. The candidate had actually failed in the examination.

VI. Men candidates have also been permitted to offer Art and Music as elective subjects for the Intermediate and B.A. Examinations. (This is subject to approval of the Senate and Government).

Chandigarh (Capital),
Dated : August 12, 1958.

J. R. Agnihotri,
Registrar.

UNIVERSITY OF SAUGAR

Notification

It is notified that the following candidates who appeared at the various Examinations of the University of Saugar held in March-April, 1958, have been found guilty of using unfair means at these examinations and have, therefore, been debarred from appearing at the University Examinations to be held in 1959. They can, however, appear in 1960 or subsequent examinations. The result of the Examination held in 1958 have been cancelled in all these cases.

Roll No.	Enrolment No.	Name of Candidates	Examination	Institution
29	B/17271	Shambhu Dayal Choubey C/o Shri Balmukund Choubey, Shukerwari Tori, Sagar, M.P.	Preparatory Commerce.	Regular-University Teaching Deptt.
2	B/3318	Chandra Shekhar Gupta S/o Shri Munri Lal Gupta, Rampura Road, Sagar, M.P.	M.Sc. (Final) Physics.	Do.

726	B/16325]	Maresh Pratap Gour S/o Shri R. P. Gour, Inter. Arts Pleader, Hoshangabad.		N.M.V. Hoshangabad
503	B/18665	Phool Chand Nigote S/o Shri Rajaram Preparatory Nigote, Vill. Baghawara Th. Budni, Dist. Arts. Bhopal.		Do.
262	B/18233	Balkrishna Gangrade S/o Shi Hiralal Gang- Preparatory rade, Nai Awah, Khandwa. Commerce.		Shree N. K. College, Khandwa.
300	B/18193	Pyarelal Malviya S/o Shri Sitaram Malviya, Do. Kaharwari, near Mosque, Khandwa.		Do.
287	B/18236	Laxmi Narayan Dashore S/o Shri B. N. Do. Dashore, Behind Vithal Mandir, Khandwa		Do.
522	B/18133	Gopi Chand Rathor S/o Shri P. L. Rathor, Preparatory Kbari Bawdi, Khandwa. Arts.		Do.
555	B/18136	Uttam Chand Rathor S/o Shri Hiralal Do. Keshovji Rathor, Kbaribawdi, Khandwa.		Do.
545	B/6937	Ram Kanhaiya Tiwari S/o Shri Balmukund B.A. Tiwari, Vill. & P.O. Loharsi (Sone) Ex-student Distt. Bilaspur.		
163	B/5205	Sheo Prasad Bhrigu S/o Pt. Jai Narayan I.Sc. Shastri, Bhatapara, Distt. Raipur. Science Col- lege, Raipur		Do.
339	B/5192	Waman Rao Shirke S/o Shri L. R. Shirke, Do. H. No. 9/551, Nayapra, Raipur.		Do.
150	—	Balbir Sharan Goswami C/o Shri Omkar Fir Dip. in S. V. Foly- Narayan Goswami, Teacher, Madhyamik- Engg. Bhopal. shala, Gwalior, M.P.		
193	B/19626	C. S. Chelliah Rao S/o Dr. R. S. Chelliah Preparatory Rao, Pendra Road Sanatorium, Distt. Science. Bilaspur.		S. B. R. Col- lege, Bilas- pur.

Saugar

Dated the 20th August, 1958.

By order,

ISHWAR CHANDRA,
Registrar.
University of Saugar.

SRI VENKATESWARA UNIVERSITY

No. B 2965/58

Proceedings of the Syndicate

Sub : Misconduct at University Examinations, March-April, 1958

Read : Syndicate Resolution No 4 (V.C. 9), dated 17th August, 1958

Order :—The results of the following candidates who have been found guilty of resorting to unfair means at the University Examinations held in March-April, 1958 are cancelled, and they are debarred from appearing for any of the University examinations for the periods mentioned against each :

Serial No.	Name of the candidates with full address.	Register number.	Period for which debarred and allowed to appear for examn.
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Pre-University Examination

- | | | | |
|---|--|------|--|
| 1 | M. Krishnamoorthy, S/o Machavaram Ramakrishnaiah, Taluk Head Accountant, Taluk Office, Kavali, (Nellore District). | 1085 | Not permitted to appear for the September-October, 1958 examination and permitted to sit for the University examination to be held in March-April, 1959 or thereafter. |
| 2 | T. K. Rajagopal, C/o R. Venkatacharyulu, 44/148, Prakasanagar, Kurnool. | 1280 | Ditto. |
| 3 | Md. Khaleelullah, S/o Abdul Rahim Naik, Supervisor, Highways, Banganapalle Post, (Kurnool District). | 1329 | Ditto. |

4	Mohammad Hussain, Edurur, Ulchala Post, (Kurnool District).	1476	Ditto.
5	D. V. Sadasiva Rao, C/o D. Narayana Rao Banganapalle Post, (Kurnool Dist.)	1505	Ditto.
6	R. Venugopal, S/o R. Balasubrahmanyam Gadivemula Post, (Nandyal Taluk, Kurnool District).	1532	Ditto.
7	V. Krishnamurthy, S/o V. Jayaramaiah Santha Bazar, Madanapalle. (Chittoor District).	1570	Not permitted to appear for the September-October 1958 exmn. and permitted to sit for the University examination to be held in March-April, 1959 or thereafter.
8	K. Ayyappa Setty, 173/17, B. Park Road, Nandyal P.O. (Kurnool Dist.).	2717	Ditto.
9	K. Sadasiva Reddy, S/o K. Chinna Narasimha Reddy, Vellatur, Pendlimarri Post, (Cuddapah District).	842	Not permitted to appear for the next two examinations, (i.e., September-October 1958 and March-April, 1959) and permitted to sit for the University examination to be held in September-October, 1959 or thereafter.
10	K. C. Chenna Rayudu, C/o K. Subbanna, Bhumayapalli, Mydukur (Cuddapah Dist.).	2720	Ditto.

Intermediate Examination

11	P. C. Hanumanthu, S/o Anjaneyappa, Retd. Process Server, Penukonda P.O., (Anantapur District).	229	Not permitted to appear for the September-October, 1958 examination and permitted to sit for the University examination to be held in March-April, 1959 or thereafter.
12	S. V. N. Krishna, S/o S. Ramaiah, Sarada Vilas, Kamalanagar, Anantapur.	620	Ditto.
13	K. M. Krishna Murthy, S/o K. Subbarayudu, Reserve Lane, Anantapur.	702	Ditto.
14	T. Satyanarayana Sarma, S/o T. Subbaiah, Priest, Kanyakaparameswari Temple, Dharmavaram, (Anantapur District).	728	Ditto.
15	D. Pedda Reddy, C/o Thimma Reddy, Potlapadu Village, Karumanchi Post, (Kurnool District).	1778	Ditto.
16	K. Nagaraju, S/o K. Naganna, 13/145, Port, Kurnool.	2007	Ditto.
17	V. Sundara Ramaiah, Mentamma Bavi Street, Koilkuntla Post, (Kurnool District).	2515	Not permitted to appear for the September-October 1958 examination, and permitted to sit for the University examination to be held in March-April, 1959 or thereafter.
18	G. Vittal, C/o P. Lakshminpathi, B.A., B.L., Assistant Public Prosecutor, Madanapalle, (Chittoor District).	2805	Ditto.
19	G. Ramana Reddy, C/o Dr. G. S. Reddy, Nagalamitta Road, Nellore.	3314	Ditto.
20	A. Seshadri Reddy, C/o Sri A. Narayana Reddy, Retd., Divnl. Inspector of Schools, Thondavada B. P. O., Chandragiri P. O. (Chittoor District).	3380	Ditto.
21	C. Baskaran, C/o C. Jacob, Gottnrivari St., Brindavanam, Nellore.	3846	Ditto.
22	K. Sreenivasa Rao, S/o K. Krishna Rao, Karnam, Matarchintalapalli B. P. O., Dharmavaram Taluk, (Anantapur District).	129	Not permitted to appear for the next two examinations (i.e. September-October 1958 examinations and March-April 1959 examinations), and permitted to sit for the University examination to be held in September, 1959.

23	A. G. Srinivasa Reddy, S/o A. G. Vasudeva Reddy, Sai Baba Nagar, Anantapur.	130	Ditto.
24	M. Narasinga Rao, S/o M. Brahmaji Rao, Prabhakara St., Old Town, Anantapur.	268	Ditto.
25	M.P. Narasimha Reddy, C/o R. V. Subba Reddy, Cloth Merchant, Cuddapah.	918	Ditto.
26	A. Harinatha Reddy, S/o A. Narasimha Reddy, Anandabala Ashram, Chembpet, Cuddapah.	1039	Ditto.
27	L. V. Subba Reddy, S/o L. Subba Reddy, Devamachupalli Post, Rajampet Taluk, (Cuddapah Dist.).	1264	Ditto.
28	B. Ramachandra Singh, C/o P. Ramabayamma 1/107, Near Railway Station, Cuddapah.	1381	Ditto.
29	N. Ramappa Naidu, Yeguvagottivedu Vill. & Post, Rayachoti Taluk, (Cuddapah District).	1838	Ditto.
30	S. A. Sattar, S/o Syed Ahmed Saheb, No. 19/128, Hajee Gaffar Saheb St., Cuddapah.	1378	Ditto.
31	A. Narayana Reddy, S/o Pedda Subba Reddy, Velgode, (Kurnool District).	1772	Ditto.
32	G. Sivaiah, C/o G. Narayana Chetty, No. 26/322, Peta, Kurnool.	1898	Ditto.
33	K. Nettekallu, Joharapuram Post, Alur Taluk, (Kurnool District).	2246½	Ditto.
34	B. Pulla Reddy, Nandikunta Vill. Duddiyala Post, Nandikotkur Tk. (Kurnool District).	2251	Ditto.
35	Y. Ramalinga Reddy, C/o Y. Venkata Reddy, Uyyalavada Post, Via Veldurthi (Kurnool District).	2263	Ditto.
36	Syed Kamaluddin, 15/74, Peta, Khadack Pura, Kurnool.	2309	Ditto.
37	N. Anwar Pasha, C/o Dr. P. A. Gaffar, Dispensary, No. 5/151, West Peta, Kurnool.	2457	Ditto.

B.A. Degree Examination

38	T. Seshacharlu, S/o T. S. Raghavacharlu, Pleader's Clerk, II Road, No. 3/51, New Town, Anantapur.	135	Not permitted to appear for the September-October 1958 examinations and permitted to sit for the University examination, to be held in March-April, 1959 or thereafter.
39	B. Venkata Reddy, C/o B. Pedda Nagaiah, Rajulaguravaiahpalle P.O., Via Mudanur (Cuddapah District).	394	Not permitted for the next two examinations, (i.e., September-October 1958 and March-April 1959) and permitted to sit for the University examination to be held in September-October 1959 or thereafter.
40	Shaik Abdul Azeez, Door No. 395/4, Nandyal, (Kurnool District).	624	Ditto.

Illegible,
Registrar.

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